



Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-87-223
Thursday
19 November 1987

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-87-223

CONTENTS

19 November 1987

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Continuing Vorontsov-Xampelman Talks Reported [PRAVDA 18 Nov]	1
Washington Conference on SDI Reported	1
Charges of USSR CW 'Deception' Serve U.S. [Lisov in IZVESTIYA 18 Nov]	1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Gerasimov At Foreign Ministry Press Center	3
Gorbachev SFRY Visit Confirmed [AFP]	3
Yeltsin's Disease 'Not Serious'	3
Troop Withdrawal From DRA	3
Geneva Chemical Weapons Talks	3
Gremitskikh Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing [IZVESTIYA 19 Nov]	4
UN Peace Document Incorporates USSR Letter [PRAVDA 14 Nov]	5
Petrovskiy Prefaces Security Debate at UN	5
Addresses General Assembly	6
Yakolev Hails UN LOS Convention Resolution	6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

PRAVDA Carries Reagan Statement on Summit, SDI [18 Nov]	8
10,000 Protest U.S. Resolution in Riga	8
Latvia's Pugo Cited	9
Report on Iran Affair Shows U.S. 'Duplicity' [Yakubov]	9
President's 'Responsibility'	10
Reagan Faces Questions	10
Reagan 'Displeasure' With Wright Viewed [IZVESTIYA 18 Nov]	11
Reception for Afghan Rebel Leader Deplored [Okulov in PRAVDA 14 Nov]	11
U.S. Stations 'Special Troops' in Gulf	12
Relations With U.S. Ships in Gulf Recounted [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Nov]	12
Carlucci Cited at Confirmation Hearings [PRAVDA 14 Nov]	12
Ivanov Denies VOA Misinformation Claims [IZVESTIYA 17 Nov]	13
Telebridge Previewed, Popularity Noted	14
Letter Asks Reagan for Hijackers' Extradition [PRAVDA 16 Nov]	14
Delegation Views U.S. Agricultural Practices [SELSKAYA ZHIZN 11 Nov]	15
American Art Exhibition Opens in Moscow [IZVESTIYA 18 Nov]	15

China

Foreign Ministry Cited on U.S.-USSR Summit	15
--	----

Northeast Asia

Rogachev Talks in Japan 'Businesslike, Frank'	16
Demichev Meets Japanese Parliamentarian	16

Near East & South Asia

Ryzhkov Leaves for India, Seen Off by Zaykov	16
India-PRC Border Talks Begin in Delhi [IZVESTIYA 17 Nov]	16
Pakistani President on 'Intervention' in DRA [Ponomarev]	17

DRA Forces Seize Arms From 'Extremist Groups'	
<i>[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 18 Nov]</i>	17
KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on Heroes Returning From DRA	17
Sri Lanka President Receives Delegation	<i>[IZVESTIYA 18 Nov]</i> 17
Soviet Navy Detachment Visits Aden	18
Change of Tunisian Regime 'Passes Quietly'	<i>[S. Filatov in PRAVDA 16 Nov]</i> 18
Soviet-Libyan Friendship Cited at 'Soiree'	19
Kapitsa Meets With Libyan Official	<i>[JANA]</i> 19
PRAVDA Reports Khomeyni War Efforts Order	<i>[14 Nov]</i> 19
Peresypkin Discusses Prospects for Israel Ties	<i>[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 12 Nov]</i> 19
Amman Summit Conference 'Extraordinary'	<i>[PRAVDA 14 Nov]</i> 20
Round Table on Glasnost, Near East Reactions	<i>[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 11 Nov]</i> 21

East Europe

Further on Vorotnikov Talks With Husak	<i>[PRAVDA 14 Nov]</i> 24
Further on USSR Visit by CSSR's Strougal	24
Comparison of Talks With Ryzhkov	24
Focuses on Cooperation	<i>[PRAVDA 18 Nov]</i> 25
Stresses Economic Intergration	<i>[Prague]</i> 25
Soviet Spokesman on Visit	<i>[CTK]</i> 26
Officials at Airport Sendoff	<i>[IZVESTIYA 18 Nov]</i> 26
Poles Investigating 'Terrorist' Smuggler	<i>[PRAVDA 18 Nov]</i> 27
Polish Cultural Scene in 1980s Examined	27

West Europe

More on Soviet Delegations' Visit to Britain	29
Marchuk Meets With Baker	<i>[PRAVDA 14 Nov]</i> 29
Tolstykh Delegation Ends Visit	29
Irish CP Leader Congratulated on Birthday	<i>[PRAVDA 12 Nov]</i> 30
Norwegian 'Distrust' of Murmansk Speech Hit	<i>[Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET 11 Nov]</i> 30
Genscher Cited on Arms Curb Prospects	<i>[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Nov]</i> 31
Release of Arrested Turkish Communists Demanded	31
European Clerics 'Anti-Communist Hysteria' Hit	32

Latin America & Caribbean

Ortega Criticizes U.S. 'Hostile Policy'	34
National Reconciliation Proposed	34
Parliamentarians To Visit Latin America	35
Delegation Leaves for Uruguayan Party Congress	<i>[PRAVDA 18 Nov]</i> 35
Briefs	35
Media Protocol Signed	35

GOSR 70TH ANNIVERSARY

East German Leaders Greet Soviet Counterparts	<i>[PRAVDA 7 Nov]</i> 36
Gromyko Speaks at 9 Nov Award Ceremony	<i>[IZVESTIYA 11 Nov]</i> 36
Nikolay Ryzhkov Receives GOSR Greetings	38
From Iranian Premier	<i>[IZVESTIYA 11 Nov]</i> 38
From Pakistani Premier	<i>[IZVESTIYA 12 Nov]</i> 38
CPSU Delegations Return From Vienna, Brussels	<i>[PRAVDA 18 Nov]</i> 39
Comparison of Honecker 4 Nov Moscow Speech	39
Comparison of Zhivkov 4 Nov Kremlin Speech	39
Comparison of Husak's 4 Nov Moscow Speech	39
Comparison of Nguyen Van Linh 5 Nov Address	40
Comparison of Nguyen Van Linh, Gorbachev Talks	41
Comparison of Ceausescu 4 Nov Moscow Meeting Speech	41
Comparison of Najibullah Moscow News Conference	41
Correction to 'Arafat Moscow Radio Interview'	43

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Demonstrations in Latvia Reported [Vienna]	44
IZVESTIYA's Laptev Comments on Yeltsin [Vienna]	44
MOSCOW NEWS Reports Yeltsin Appointment	44
Nikonov Addresses Bryansk Obkom [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 12 Nov]	45
Further on Biryukova Visit to Kirghiz SSR [SOVETSKAYA KIRGHIZIA]	49
Speaks to Voters [27 Oct]	49
Addresses Ministry [28 Oct]	56
Dolgikh Article on October Revolution [Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN]	60
More on Supreme Soviet Speeches	67
Latvia's Pugo [SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 21 Oct]	67
Estonia's Saul [Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 22 Oct]	69
NOVOSTI's Falin Assesses Restructuring [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 7 Nov]	71
Moscow Deputy Mayor Cited on Planning Projects	75
More on Publication of Brodskiy Poetry	75
Economist Primakov Answers Readers [SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 7 Nov]	76

Economic

Report on Jan-Oct Industrial Performance [EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA No 47]	79
BRIEFS	84
Electricity Output Up	84

Agricultural

Jan-Oct Stockraising Figures Reported [EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA No 47]	84
Media Report 12-14 November Developments	86

Scientific

'Progress 32' Separates From 'Mir' Complex	87
'Progress-32' Mission Terminated	87
'Mir' Cosmonauts in 'Good Health'	87

Military

Yazov Order Marks Rocket Forces, Artillery Day [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Nov]	88
Yazov Meets With Political Directorate Personnel [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 14 Nov]	89
Lizichev Visits Baltic Military District [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Nov]	89
Leaders Sign Obituary of General Belikov	89

Continuing Vorontsov-Kampelman Talks Reported
PM181021 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 87
Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At the Geneva Talks"]

[Text] Geneva, 17 Nov—The meetings between Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and leader of the Soviet delegation at the Soviet-U.S. nuclear and space arms talks, and M. Kampelman, head of the U.S. delegation, continued here Monday. A whole range of questions was examined connected with finalizing the elaboration of a treaty on the complete elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles

Washington Conference on SDI Reported
LD181127 Moscow TASS in English 0849 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 18 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko reports:

The question of whether the "Strategic Defense Initiative" is in U.S. national interests was in the focus of a debate which was held on Capitol Hill Tuesday.

"The "Star Wars" advocates were represented by General James Abrahamson, director of the SDI Organization, and former assistant secretary of defense Richard Perle.

Their opponents were astronomy Professor Carl Sagan of Cornell University and physics Professor Richard Garwin of Columbia University.

The arguments in support of space arms were the same old claims of "U.S. vulnerability to nuclear weapons", "the purely defensive nature" of the SDI project and of it being nothing more than a "research program".

General Abrahamson clearly attempted to brush the reasoning of the other side aside in advance when he accused them of using "oversimplistic arguments on a very, very complex subject".

The actual arguments used by the critics of the "Star Wars" plan, however, were most sound.

Garwin noted the very real chances now for abolishing all intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and for reaching agreement to halve the strategic nuclear arsenals of the two great powers. He stressed "This is a surer way and a quicker way" to ward off the nuclear threat. As far as the SDI "research program" is concerned, he said it was "bound to fail".

Sagan, for his part, called attention to such an important issue of the "Star Wars" project's cost. He said the projected expenses in current financial conditions were a route to an economic collapse.

In the past six years the United States had turned from the major creditor into the major debtor in the world, with the military budget swelling annually by as much as the federal deficit, and the relationship was too obvious to be missed, Sagan continued.

As a result, the United States, he said, resembled an underdeveloped country in several respects. It occupied 17th place in the world for the child mortality rate and had a quarter of the population functionally illiterate, homeless people in every large city, and 20 million people going hungry every day, Sagan said.

Charges of USSR CW 'Deception' Serve U.S.
PM181429 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 87
Morning Edition p 5

[O. Lisov article under the rubric "Apt Remarks": "Why They Are Tampering With the Facts...."]

[Text] The events occurred in the following chronological order. At the beginning of October the USSR invited members of the Geneva Disarmament Conference to the military installation at Shikhany. The guests were shown the entire arsenal of chemical ammunition and also a mobile unit for its destruction. World reaction was unanimous: The USSR had openly demonstrated its willingness—not in words but in deeds—to eliminate this type of mass destruction weapon.

A little later the West German newspaper *Welt am Sonntag* shook the world with a sensational story whose point can easily be summed up in a single sentence: Do not believe the Russians, they will deceive us all the same. The Springer concern publication reported that work at some Soviet chemical weapon depots was being secretly expanded. The source of the information: the U.S. Secret Services, not named directly, which in turn cited data obtained through satellite intelligence.

We will not go into the details as to how the Springer concern managed to gain access to top secret information from the strongholds of a foreign state's secret services (under U.S. law those found guilty of such a crime face stiff penalties). The whole point is that Soviet production of chemical weapons has been terminated, as M.S. Gorbachev officially announced to the whole world in April this year. Having extracted millions of rubles from the budget to build an installation for the destruction of chemical weapons, the Soviet Union is hardly likely to throw more millions to the winds in order to build up arsenals which it will later have to destroy under international verification.

The natural question—why this fabrication, distorting the facts and going against common sense?—can be answered with another question: Why not? Accusations of "concealment" against the USSR have coincided with the notice given to Congress by President Reagan that if an accord is not reached in Geneva by the beginning of December, he will order the mass production of binary

weapons to begin. Clearly, such a step in itself will prompt a far from rapturous reaction in the world. Particularly if one considers that the elaboration of an international convention to eliminate chemical weapons is nearing completion. It would be another matter if it could be proved that the Russians are secretly building up their chemical arsenals. If this were the case, the United States would not have to play the role of "strike-breaker" but that of a power which, albeit reluctantly, would simply have to restore the "balance" for the sake of its own security and that of the other NATO countries.

Again the same question arises: Why create new stockpiles which, in the event of an accord, would have to be eliminated? But the matter is slightly more complicated with binary weapons, which differ from all other types of chemical weapons. This kind of ammunition certainly does not have to be stored in its final form. It is sufficient to have its individual components, which are relatively harmless in themselves. Only when these "components" are put together does the desired end product emerge: toxic binary substances which instantly paralyze and destroy every living thing.

It is extremely complicated to monitor the process of creating these individual components: They can be produced by the most ordinary enterprises in the private commercial chemical sector. The United States is only in favor of monitoring state enterprises and firms directly involved in fulfilling Pentagon contracts. And, moreover, only those on U.S. territory. As far as subsidiaries of U.S. multinational corporations scattered all over the world are concerned, Washington does not want to hear about them. The U.S. delegation at the Geneva talks has generously proposed to reach verification agreements with each country individually that has U.S. branches operating on its territory.

Moreover, D. Emery, assistant director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, spoke in the same spirit when addressing the UN General Assembly First Committee, saying that perhaps there is no point at present in concluding a comprehensive convention to eliminate these mass destruction weapons and that perhaps we should limit ourselves to "regulating" chemical weapons.

Is it now clear who is tampering with the facts and why?

Gerasimov At Foreign Ministry Press Center

Gorbachev SFRY Visit Confirmed

LD191501 Paris AFP in English 1457 GMT 19 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, Nov 19 (AFP)—Mikhail Gorbachev has confirmed that he will make his first "friendly visit" to Yugoslavia since becoming Soviet leader, and exact dates are being negotiated, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said here Thursday.

Mr Gerasimov noted that agreement was first reached on such a visit in December last year. Under that accord, the visit would take place this year.

Mr Gerasimov told a regular news briefing that the agreement was confirmed on November 5 at a meeting between Mr Gorbachev and Yugoslav Communist party leaders, and "the issue is settled in principle".

Mr Gorbachev on that date met with Yugoslav leaders Bosko Kronic and Stane Dolanc, while they were in Moscow for celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution.

Yeltsin's Disease 'Not Serious'

LD191412 Moscow TASS in English 1402 GMT
19 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—Replying to questions put by journalists during a briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry press centre in Moscow today, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Boris Yeltsin was being treated in hospital.

"His disease cannot be described as serious. He will not stay long in hospital," said Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry information directorate.

"Yeltsin's good business qualities were praised at the recent plenary meeting of the Moscow City Party Committee. Now, as you see, he has been appointed to a sufficiently high and difficult post of first deputy chairman of the State Committee of the USSR for construction in the rank of minister," Gerasimov said.

"I hope that he will soon start performing his duties," he added.

"What happened to Yeltsin is an episode that should not generate far-fetched conclusions, the more so, conclusions about the future of the restructuring drive," the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Troop Withdrawal From DRA

LD191424 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT
19 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—"The time-frame of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is one of the topics of the talks between Afghanistan and

Pakistan through the personal envoy of the United Nations Secretary General Diego Cordovez", a press briefing today was told by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

"A certain progress is observed lately at these talks", the Soviet spokesman said further. "During a regular round of the talks in September the Afghan delegation proposed a 16-month period for the withdrawal of the troops while the Pakistani delegation suggested 8 months. So the difference in the stands of the sides on the time-frame of the troop withdrawal is now eight months".

During today's Moscow-Washington television bridge Academician Yevgeniy Primakov suggested that the United States suspend interference in the affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for one year because this would create important preconditions for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. "If the Pakistani side displays sufficient flexibility and good will, the next stage of the talks could become the concluding one", Gerasimov said.

"As is known, the Soviet leadership has adopted a political decision on the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan", Gennadiy Gerasimov said. "We want the time-frame of the withdrawal to be a compact one. But there must be an end to interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs and guarantees of its non-resumption".

"We support the Afghan leadership's efforts in the matter of national reconciliation and achieving a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and believe that precisely these two processes constitute the best road leading to this problem's speediest solution", the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed.

Geneva Chemical Weapons Talks

LD191505 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT
19 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—The Geneva talks held within the framework of the disarmament conference have noticeably advanced towards concluding a convention banning chemical weapons, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, expressed the hope that the next round of talks, resuming on November 23, would accomplish decisive success.

"In principle, all key issues, including verification, have been [words indistinct] the spokesman. "Technical details remain. This problem has been the subject of discussion during the meetings between Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz in Washington and Moscow.

Extra steps have been made on our part towards the American position—an issue to which the U.S. attached special significance.”

“The USSR showed in Shikhany in October specimens of Soviet Army chemical munitions and the technology for their destruction.

Soviet experts visited a chemical munition destruction facility in Muenster, West Germany. At present, Soviet experts are in the U.S. to visit a facility destroying chemical weapons in Tooele, Utah. Soviet specialists are expected to visit a similar facility in Porton Down, Great Britain.

The talks are nearing completion. Now, however, we are witnessing the attempts to protract them, to avoid a comprehensive ban on chemical warfare means,” Gerasimov said. “We hear talking about chemical arms control, not prohibition of chemical weapons, about partial measures, rather than a global solution.

This sets a bad example to countries that do not as yet possess chemical weapons, and encourages the process of their proliferation.

Resolute concentration of efforts is now required at the Geneva talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons. We note with satisfaction in this connection that the statement by West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, published in the newspaper *Saarbruecker Zeitung*, stresses the importance of eliminating all chemical weapons and reaching an agreement on their prohibition.

The minister urged compliance with the rule that no measure for ensuring control which creates extra security should be foiled by the West.

In our view, this is a constructive approach to the problem of banning chemical weapons.”

Gremitsikh Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing

PM191305 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 87
Morning Edition p 5

[“Our correspondent” A. Kuvshinnikov report: “Intensive Dialogue under Way”]

[Text]USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center—Intensive preparation for the meeting of Soviet and American leaders continues. Intensive diplomatic dialogue is under way in Moscow, Washington, and Geneva.

In this regard, Yu. Gremitsikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, stressed at a routine briefing, it is essential to draw attention to the visit to Moscow by U.S. Deputy Secretary of State J. Whitehead.

During conversations with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and Deputy Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh he had the Soviet conception of summit preparations expounded to him. The sides confirmed their basic understanding of how the work should be conducted in the time remaining before the visit.

There was also discussion of problems of Soviet-American relations and spheres and areas demanding additional impetus, including impetus of a political nature, were pinpointed.

Humanitarian problems concerning Soviet-American relations were the subject of discussion between Mr. Whitehead and Deputy Foreign Minister A.L. Adamishin, the results of which were assessed as businesslike and constructive. Mutual understanding of the fact that such discussions can only be a two-way street was confirmed.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman conducted a kind of lightning chess tournament with journalists, to whose questions he gave terse replies.

The newspaper *Al-Ittihad* (United Arab Emirates): According to Western press reports, the USSR is building an electronic intelligence station in the south of Iran to track American warships in the Persian Gulf.

“Reports in some newspapers are reports in some newspapers, and that’s all.”

Izvestiya: U.S. State Department representative Charles Redman has confirmed that the American side has accepted the USSR invitation to visit two radar stations in the Gomel region to see for themselves that the work there is not in breach of the ABM Treaty. Is this true?

“Mr Redman has given adequate information for the moment. More detailed information may be ready at the next briefing.”

AFP: According to reports in some Western papers, Mr. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, has stated in the FRG that the Soviet Union has taken the decision to complete the withdrawal of their troops from Afghanistan within 7-12 months. Can you confirm this?

“These are just newspaper accounts and, judging by their presentation, they distort the Soviet spokesman’s statement. Our stance regarding the withdrawal of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops from Afghanistan is perfectly well known. The question of a timetable is a question of halting interference in Afghanistan’s affairs and creating reliable international guarantees of its non-resumption.

It was also reported at the briefing that court proceedings are under way in Sweden against R. Svistunov, who hijacked an Aeroflot An-2 plane to Sweden. The court

has charged him with hijacking. At the same time the court is considering the USSR's claims for more than 370,000 rubles' worth of material damage occasioned by the hijacking. According to Swedish press reports, Svistunov has in general accepted the charges leveled against him during the trial that has begun.

UN Peace Document Incorporates USSR Letter
PM191215 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 87
First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "USSR Letter at the United Nations"]

[Text] New York, 13 Nov.—The principles laid down in the declaration on educating the peoples in a spirit of peace are of great importance in our time, when international security cannot be built on nuclear deterrence. This is said in a letter from the USSR incorporated in a report by the UN secretary general which reviews the declaration's implementation by UN member countries.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that the constructive ideas of new political thinking would provide an effective stimulus for the process of educating the peoples in a spirit of peace, the letter says. It notes that the shaping of a new political mentality is now under way in the world, a mentality that would render impossible the growth of militarist and chauvinist ideas and would cultivate the ideas of cooperation between peoples. The Soviet state is doing everything within its power to ensure that the efforts to educate the peoples in a spirit of peace have a reliable material basis consisting primarily of real achievements in the sphere of disarmament and the strengthening of the foundations of peace, the document points out.

Petrovskiy Prefaces Security Debate at UN
LD182136 Moscow TASS in English 2124 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 18 TASS—The First Committee (Disarmament and Related International Security Questions) of the United Nations General Assembly is to begin Thursday the discussion of one of the most important items on the agenda of the 42nd session—the question of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. It was submitted to the United Nations by the group of the socialist countries.

The international community hopes that the General Assembly will be able to give a new impetus to the productive dialogue on comprehensive security and will be instrumental in finding universally acceptable ways for establishing it.

Vladimir Petrovskiy, a deputy minister of foreign affairs of the U.S.S.R., gave a news conference at the United Nations Headquarters today. He described the opening debate as the session's peak of sorts.

We proceed from the premise, he stated, that the continuation and development of the dialogue on comprehensive security will assist in vectoring constructive efforts of states toward the search for practical ways for multilateral cooperation in the framework of the United Nations and other international fora.

We regard a wide-scale democratic discussion of that question on a constructive basis free form confrontation as a school for cooperation of all states and their joint creative work in defining the concept of security for all—a concept that would be in line with the realities of this nuclear and space age—and as a genuine school for multilateral interaction.

An integral concept of such organization of the world in which security of every nation will be a guarantee of security of all was offered to the international community by Mikhail Gorbachev in his article "*The Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World*" addressed to the 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly. In essence, he set forth a broad range of specific ideas concerning ways for overcoming stereotypes of the "enemy image", nuclear intimidation and other intimidation by force in the practice of international relations and the transition to the joint construction of a nuclear weapons-free, non-violent and positive world, Vladimir Petrovskiy went on to say.

Too little has been done so far if it is measured against the scale of the tasks which mankind is to cope with today in order to ensure its survival. But the start has been made and first signs of change are on hand. One of the convincing proofs of that is the accord between the U.S.S.R. and the United States on the elimination of an entire class of nuclear arms for the first time ever. It shows in practice that headway can be made along the lines of destroying the nuclear arsenals without causing damage to anyone. During the third and fourth summit meetings we will vigorously work toward making tangible progress and toward achieving specific results in the key problem of averting the nuclear threat—the problem of reducing strategic offensive systems and preventing arms from spreading to outer space, Vladimir Petrovskiy said.

A balance of interests is the foundation of the proposed system of comprehensive security, the Soviet representative went on to say. We are confident that for all the differences of the contemporary world—social, economic, class, cultural, religious and others—all who are really interested in ridding the world of the nuclear threat and augmenting possibilities for progress on our planet can cooperate with each other. We stand for the transition to a wide-scale policy of confidence in all spheres which comprehensive security should embrace, notably the military, political, economic, ecological, social and humanitarian spheres, including human rights.

The joint initiative of the socialist countries pre-supposes a definite character of measures which would enable the United Nations, the main universal security body, to ensure the maintenance of security at a dependable level, the Soviet deputy foreign minister said. Comprehensive security is not some new system of security contradicting the Charter of the United Nations. On the contrary, the aim of that initiative is to achieve through joint efforts of all states a practical implementation of all provisions of the Charter without exclusion in the day-to-day practice of international relations. We stand for enhancing the role of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the United Nations secretary general. We would like all states to give the maximum of support to them, promote higher efficiency of the United Nations and its institutions and augment their contribution to the solution of international issues.

A useful contribution to the search for answers to all these questions could be made by an expert group that would prepare a report on that matter in time for the 45th session of the General Assembly, he said in conclusion. It would carry out an unbiased analysis of the entire spectrum of views and ideas concerning means for ensuring comprehensive security in all spheres of international relations with a view to bringing conceptual approaches closer together, expanding areas of accord and taking practical actions.

Addresses General Assembly

*LD182146 Moscow TASS in English 2133 GMT
18 Nov 87*

[Text] New York November 18 TASS—The U.N. General Assembly today unanimously adopted a declaration on enhancing the efficiency of the principle of the of the renunciation of the threat of force or its use in international affairs.

The approval of the declaration became an important political result of the 42nd U.N. General Assembly session, a major achievement of the entire world community. In concretizing and developing the principle of the non-use of force in international relations in the nuclear-space age, the declaration bolsters the commitments not to use force contained in the U.N. Charter and in a whole number of multilateral, regional and bilateral treaties of the post-war period. This document orientates states' efforts at lessening tensions in the world through removing the threat of war, at preventing the arms race in space and arresting it on earth, at attaining general and complete disarmament under stringent and effective international control.

The drafting and eventual adoption of the declaration constitutes an important contribution by the United Nations towards shaping up international law and order that correspond to the requirements for ensuring universal and equal security. Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, said at the plenary session of the U.N. General Assembly. The Soviet delegation

would like to emphasize that the elaboration of this document became possible thanks to the collective efforts by the entire world community, broad business-like cooperation of socialist, non-aligned and capitalist states.

The adoption of the declaration on the non-use of force gives particular satisfaction to us, Petrovskiy said. Since its inception, the Soviet state has been consistently advocating exclusion of war as a means of solving disputable issues. The programme for abolishing nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction, launched by the Soviet Union on January 15, 1986 is based precisely on this.

The USSR delegate expressed confidence that the declaration would take a special place among the United Nations' decisions aimed at asserting the political and legal guarantees of universal security. The declaration adopted on the basis of the concord of all states is evidence of the manifestation of new thinking when specific results that are consonant with the all-human aspirations are achieved through compromises and mutual interest, he stressed.

Yakovlev Hails UN LOS Convention Resolution

*LD191019 Moscow TASS in English 0941 GMT
19 Nov 87*

[Text] New York November 19 TASS—TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports:

The U.N. General Assembly has noted the historical significance of the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea which is a major contribution to safeguarding peace, justice and progress in the interests of all nations. This appraisal has been made in a resolution which was adopted at the U.N. General Assembly on Wednesday by 142 votes against 2—by the United States and Turkey. The General Assembly has called upon all the states which have not yet done so, to consider the question of ratification of the convention or accession to it in a brief period of time so as to ensure the efficient entry into force of the new legal regime of using the sea and its resources.

In the course of the discussion speakers noted that the global world ocean regime, enshrined in the convention, testifies to the vitality of the United Nations, its ability to resolve complicated problems of the present. In the process of establishing and consolidating the legal regime of seas and oceans on the basis of this document, the United Nations is displaying its huge potential in strengthening the global law and order, in establishing a comprehensive system of international security.

The convention asserts the primacy of law over force, said the USSR Representative E. Yakovlev. The new approaches and accords on different aspects of sea activity, international law and practice of states, laid in it, are a example and a stimulus for further efforts in

realizing the whole potential of the U.N. Charter, in building a comprehensive system of international security. Instead of the policy and practice of unilateral seizure and division of the sea space and resources, instead of violence and attempts of solving complicated questions through force, the convention provides for the way of accords and consideration of interests of every state. In this it reflects the new political thinking at the

nuclear age. the USSR, said the Soviet representative, attaches great significance to consolidation of law and order on the sea and compliance by by all states with the Convention on the Law of the Sea. Any attempts to undermine it meet the Soviet side's rebuff and condemnation, since they create the ground for friction and lead to conflicts, prevent the world ocean from becoming a zone of peace, confidence and cooperation.

United States & Canada

PRAVDA Carries Reagan Statement on Summit, SDI
PM181127 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 87
Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "U.S. President's Stance"]

[Text] Washington, 17 Nov—President Reagan delivered a speech here on Monday in which he set out the positions on which the administration is basing its preparation for the Soviet-U.S. summit due to occur in December.

"Next month," Reagan said, "I shall be meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Washington. If all goes well we will sign an agreement which, for the first time in history, will scrap a whole class of Soviet and U.S. nuclear missiles."

On the question of reducing the U.S. and USSR strategic arsenals, the President noted that "progress is being made at the Geneva talks." But at the same time he demanded that the Soviet Union cease linking this question with the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative," as he put it. He reiterated the Pentagon's claims about "work in the strategic defense sphere" which the Soviet Union is allegedly conducting, claims which Washington has repeatedly been put forward to justify the U.S. program for the militarization of space.

The President stressed in particular that the White House regards SDI as "important insurance" and an "essential part of any strategy in the sphere of national security." He noted that SDI will not be a "bargaining chip."

Describing these remarks, CBS TV noted that the head of the White House has "made another tough statement to the Soviet Union." Observers here link this toughness with the struggle within the administration itself on the question of the future of the "Star Wars" program, a struggle which is intensifying as the Soviet-U.S. summit approach.

10,000 Protest U.S. Resolution in Riga
LD181646 Moscow TASS in English 1624 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Riga November 18 TASS—A representative of U.S. Congress has not been allowed into Latvia. Such an unceremonious demand—to send an observer to the republic—is contained in a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives on the occasion of the so-called Latvia's Independence Day, November 18.

"How can one insist on a visit to the republic, interfering in its internal affairs," officials at the republic's Foreign Ministry said with indignation to a TASS correspondent.

Ten thousand residents of the Latvian capital expressed their resolute protest against Washington's attempts to interfere in the sovereign Soviet Republic's affairs. They gathered today at the monument to the Latvian Red Rifles, defenders of the first state in Latvian history, the Socialist Republic.

They carried streamers in Latvian [as received] and Russian, saying that the Latvian people needed no instructions from across the ocean as to how they should live.

"We are ready to receive American congressmen, but only as guests, not as inspectors," Vizma Maurere-Maurate, a worker of the Aurora factory and deputy of the republic's Supreme Soviet, told TASS.

"Such a visit would bring to mind the unbidden guests from the United States, Britain and France who in November 1918 installed in power the puppet government of Ulmanis. On their conscience is the death of 12,000 Latvian workers, farmers and their children."

"We remember well that grim time," recalled Janis Palkavnieks, 82. "Foreign soldiers shot at civilians on Riga streets. The corpses were then brought to a cemetery and piled up."

Academician Aleksandr Drizul has also a purely personal reason to protest against the resolution of the U.S. Congress. "Its authors", he said, "have twisted the meaning of my words that there should be no distortions and deformations in the history of Latvia. But they themselves are rewriting history pretending that they know nothing about the revolutionary events of 1917 when the overwhelming majority of the population in the non-occupied part of Latvia sided with the Bolsheviks. This is proved, for instance, by the returns of the elections to the Riga city дума (council) and the constituent assembly in which Bolsheviks got 72 percent of the votes. And the creation of the first soviet government was precisely a result of this".

"The American authorities have a strange logic", said Andris Berzins, a young physician from Riga, expressing his indignation at the refusal of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow to receive a delegation of deputies of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of Latvia. "When it comes to lecturing us, we exist. But when it comes to meeting with us, it turns out we do not exist for them".

The notorious "Baltic card" is so precious to some politicians in the West, it was noted by speakers at the meeting, that they are prepared to substitute it for the solution of the most pressing problems of our time. For instance, Senator Robert Dole, when asked what subjects he would want to discuss at the forthcoming summit in Washington in December were he in President Reagan's place, declared that he would immediately tackle what he considers to be genuine problems—the Baltic states. Such a perception of problems seems more than strange

in the case of a person who has nominated his candidature for the presidency. He is not concerned about the danger of nuclear war, regional conflicts, hunger and poverty in developing countries. As to Douglas Bereuter, a member of the House of Representatives, he went even further several days ago when predicting that "acts of violence" are supposedly expected in Latvia on November 18.

In a bid to play the "Baltic card" instigators from overseas are staging provocative radio shows. Soviet citizens are urged to hold anti-Soviet demonstrations. Attempts are being made to sow enmity between the nationalities. Who can be hoped to hear all this? Politically ignorant people and irresponsible youths directed by adventurists who were tried and sentenced in the past for their crimes against the Soviet state.

The American congressmen are trying to turn the so-called "Helsinki-86" group into their banner as well.

But it should be recalled that even the group's founder, Linard Grantins, speaking on Latvian television a few days ago, declared: "I don't want my compatriots to take part in disorders on November 18. This entire provocation is not for the good of the people."

The city militia department told a TASS correspondent that residents of some houses of Riga had discovered leaflets of nationalist content in their mail boxes. A caller told militia that a blast would be staged near the liberty monument.

The public has strongly rebuffed this farce based on a scenario prepared overseas.

A resolution passed by residents of Riga at the meeting expressed a strong protest "at a gross U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Soviet Latvia." The participants in the meeting further declared that they would not permit anyone "to lift his hand against restructuring, democratization and openness."

Such is the will of the people of Soviet Latvia.

Latvia's Pugo Cited

*LD191036 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0925 GMT 19 Nov 87*

[Text] Riga, 19 Nov (TASS)—Shakespeare's saying "Much ado about nothing" is the equivalent of the Latvian proverb quoted by Boris Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, appraising yesterday's failed anti-Soviet action, staged according to the scenario of the U.S. Congress.

As the party leader noted in a talk with the TASS correspondent, the attempt to make the Latvian people celebrate 18 November 1918 as "Independence Day" produced resolute condemnation from the working people of the republic. It was an act of crude interference in

the internal affairs of sovereign Soviet Latvia, a serious violation of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. But chiefly, the first secretary stressed, it was a flagrant distortion of historical truth.

"A free Latvia in a free Russia"—with this slogan of the Latvian riflemen back in November 1917, by means of free elections, the Latvian people established Soviet rule on the territory of the republic not occupied by the troops of the Kaiser's Germany. Only from those days does its statehood and independence date, also recognized in 1918 by the Government of Soviet Russia.

Boris Pugo noted that the people of Latvia confirmed its choice in favor of socialism in June 1940 when the fascist dictatorship of Ulmanis was overthrown and Soviet rule was restored after a 20-year historical break. Then, at the election of deputies to the People's Council nearly 98% of electors voted for candidates of the working people's bloc. Just as unanimous was the decision of the Council that Latvia should form part of the USSR. This display of the will of all the people had its roots in the unity of destinies engendered by centuries of history of Latvia's economic and cultural ties with Russia.

The first secretary of the republic's Communist Party stressed that according to economists' figures, the Baltic region, Latvia included, needed for effective development more than 400 national economy sectors instead of the 150 or so which they do have. Therefore, generously sharing the products of their labor, they receive everything necessary from the other Soviet republics. Enjoying equal economic and political rights, Latvia has secured for itself every opportunity for economic, social, and spiritual progress. So it is natural that the falsifiers of history did not succeed in provoking anti-Soviet and nationalistic demonstrations on 18 November. The people of Latvia displayed monolithic unity, high political and civic maturity, loyalty to the ideals of socialism.

Boris Pugo expressed hope that a new political thinking and common sense, which are especially needed for the development of the Soviet-U.S. summit dialogue and the strengthening of trust and security, will prevail in the U.S. Congress.

Report on Iran Affair Shows U.S. 'Duplicity'

*LD181823 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 87*

[Text] Moscow, 18 Nov TASS—Observer Dmitriy Yakubov writes:

The "Irangate" affair, which has been exciting the domestic political life of the United States for about a year now, is approaching its juridical conclusion. The report of the commission of the U.S. Congress investigating this affair will be published today, 18 November.

The details of the report, which runs to 500 pages, are still unknown. However, its main findings have already become known. They show, in the first place, that representatives of the administration or, more precisely, White House employees, who worked directly under the President's leadership, broke the law by rendering secret aid to the Nicaraguan contras. Another just as irrefutable finding of the report is that the President himself "did not carry out his duty to ensure the strict observance of the laws of the United States."

It is known that the report has been rather stormily debated by members of the commission during its preparation. The report was signed by the majority of members of the commission, but not all of them. Eight legislators, members of the Republican Party, prepared their own separate document in which they evidently try to justify the administration's actions. The stand taken by these members of the commission may be fully understood if one takes into account the fact that the election campaign has, essentially, already begun in the country. The Republicans are faced with a difficult struggle to increase the number of their representatives in Congress, not to mention the fact that they would like to keep hold of the presidential chair.

Clearly, in these conditions, accusations against the administration and the President personally cannot fail to intensify all aspects of the interparty struggle. But this is an internal matter. For the whole world, however, the "Irangate" scandal has confirmed the fact that the administration's words by no means always match its deeds. This was pretty conclusively proved by the secret organization of supplies of weapons to Iran and the illegal assistance to the Nicaraguan contras. Both these actions ran counter to the verbal assurances of representatives of the Reagan administration, but at the same time fully corresponded with their foreign policy objectives.

Thus, the charges preferred in the Congress commission's report against the administration are not of internal political significance alone. They have evoked a large international response as testimony to the duplicity of Washington policy.

President's 'Responsibility'

LD182314 Moscow TASS in English 2204 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 18 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko reports:

A report by the Senate and House of Representatives Special Commissions summing up the results of the ten-month investigation into the shrill foreign policy "Iran-contra" scandal was released in the U.S. Congress today. The 700-page report sets out the details of the White House covert operation to sell weapons to Iran and illegally divert part of the profits generated from the

deal to the gangs of the Nicaraguan contras, contains documents relating to various aspects of this scandal and also the commissions' recommendations.

"The full story of the Iran-contra affair is complicated and, for this nation, profoundly sad", the report admits. This evaluation is not fortuitous. During the investigation unseemly evidence was brought out of the attempts by top-ranking administration officials to circumvent laws, mislead Congress and shred compromising documents.

"The common ingredients of the Iran and contra policies were secrecy, deception and disdain for the law", the document says. For instance, Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver North, a former aide of The National Security Council and a key "character" of this operation, gave false testimony to Congress on more than one occasion, willfully amended the content of important documents and shredded many of them in an apparent attempt to cover up the traces.

The investigation denuded glaring double-dealing of the U.S. foreign policy when what highly placed administration officials claimed in their lofty-sounding public statements was at odds with what was carried out during secret operations. It was publicly stated that the United States would not agree to concessions on the issue of American hostages held in Lebanon but in deed the United States clandestinely shipped weapons in exchange for the hostages, the report says. The administration claimed that it abided by the letter and spirit of the congressional ban on military aid to the contras but, at the same time, as seen from the report, the National Security Council staff secretly assumed guidance and financing of the contras' military activity.

So, who is held responsible for the "Iran-contra" operation? The report says that the Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver North was the central figure among immediate executives. His actions were approved by John Poindexter, former assistant to the President for national security affairs. Members of the commissions have grounds to believe that the late CIA Director William Casey encouraged and gave guidance to North's activity.

What was the role of the President in the "Iran-contra" affair? The authors of the report do not give a final answer to this question alluding to the fact that the important documents relevant to this aspect of the scandal were destroyed. Nonetheless, the eventual responsibility for the events in the "Iran-contra" deal should rest with the President, the report points out. The President was to know what his national security aides were doing.

Reagan Faces Questions

LD190849 Moscow TASS in English 0833 GMT
19 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 19 TASS—The White House confirmed that in the near future President Reagan would reply in a written form to questions put by

Walsh, special prosecutor investigating the Iran-contras affair, about a month ago. According to press reports, the procurator is interested most of all in a reply to a question of whether the President authorized, at least once, potentially illegal actions by his subordinates. It is expected that during a trial the key figures of this scandal will justify their actions by the fact they they had acted on orders of the President who stubbornly denies that he knew anything about financing operations of Nicaraguan contras from funds received from the arms-for-Iran deal.

Walsh does not preclude a chance that he will approach the head of the Administration with a request for a personal meeting if he is not satisfied with Reagan's written testimony.

In the opinion of analysts, it is highly probable that, due to juridical procrastinations, trials of participants in the Iran-contras affair can start after a new administration comes into office.

Reagan 'Displeasure' With Wright Viewed

PM181541 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 87
Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA press service report: "United States. The Opinion of the Speaker of the House of Representatives"]

[Text] President Reagan has expressed displeasure at the participation of Jim Wright, speaker of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, in the process of restoring peace in Central America. *Reuters* and UPI report from Washington.

With the agreement of the interested parties, Congressman Wright took part in the talks between Nicaraguan President D. Ortega and Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, who is acting as mediator between the government and the contras in the talks on a cease-fire.

According to White House spokesman M. Fitzwater, the President's displeasure was provoked by the fact that Wright's interference in the dialogue between the opposing forces may create a false impression of the role of the United States in the process of an internal settlement in Nicaragua.

Apart from the President Vice-President Bush, Secretary of State Shultz, White House Chief of Staff Baker, and Presidential National Security Adviser Carlucci [title as published] took part in a conversation with the congressman. Obviously, Wright has seriously messed up the U.S. Administration's cards...

At a meeting with journalists Wright indicated that by its "abuse, reprimands, public derision, and refusal" to meet the representatives of the countries of Central America the Reagan administration "sometimes gives the impression that it regards the people of Central America as inferior." He stated that President Reagan

"has a profoundly suspicious attitude toward everything which is being said in Nicaragua" and is obsessed by the idea that "everyone there is a communist and is simply lying."

At a Mexico City news conference Nicaraguan President D. Ortega stated that hitherto the U.S. Administration has lacked the political will to promote a peaceful settlement of the situation in the Central American region. This is illustrated, he said, in particular, by President Reagan's refusal to meet me in Washington in order to discuss problems on the agenda.

Ortega rejected the U.S. Government's claim that the Nicaraguan Government is not fulfilling all its pledges within the framework of the Guatemalan accords. If the cease-fire regime proposed by the Nicaraguan Government were in operation today and if dialogue with the contras were to begin, Ortega stated, the opposition would receive every guarantee of being included in the country's political life.

Reception for Afghan Rebel Leader Deplored

PM181451 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 87
Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Okulov report under general heading "Who Was Received at the White House"]

[Text] Kabul, 13 Nov—So the U.S. President received "representatives of the Afghan resistance" headed by Yunis Khalis. This is not the first meeting between the head of the U.S. Administration and the leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghan Fighters for the Faith" [name of party as published]. On this occasion, however, Khalis was honored with a presidential handshake in his capacity as recently elected leader of the "Alliance of the Seven" Afghan counterrevolutionary groupings headquartered in the Pakistani city of Peshawar. According to reports from Washington, the White House chief again promised his visitor that aid would be increased.

For what purpose do Khalis and his colleagues need aid? Obviously for the very same purpose they have been pursuing so far. But the deeds of these "fighters" are far removed from the faith they "defend." Here is what Mawlawi 'Abdullah Kalakani, eminent Afghan religious figure, has to say on this account:

"Khalis was known for his extremism long before the April Revolution. During the time of the monarchy he joined the 'Muslim Brotherhood' organization which was banned in Afghanistan. Afterward he engaged in banditry in his native province of Nangarhar, and following the rout of the gang he led a pitiful existence in Peshawar where he was recruited by U.S. agents. That was when he emerged as leader of a faction of the 'Islamic Party of Afghanistan.' Khalis is responsible for hundreds of assassinated mullahs, dozens of destroyed mosques, and the deaths of many village teachers."

Let us supplement the Mawlawi's testimony. Khalis' gangs were among the first to be armed with U.S. Stinger missiles. They made use of them right away. Back in September 1985 they shot down an Afghan Airline aircraft on a flight from Kabul to Qandahar. There were 52 persons killed. Khalis boasted with smug cynicism before the microphones of Pakistani radio that this was his own handiwork. The number of victims of air terrorism in the Afghan skies has exceeded 150 since that time. It would be interesting to know whether Khalis reported this during the White House audience.

As we can see, even bandits dressed as political figures can be guests in the White House. The question is: Does this do credit to a great power which has proclaimed itself the enemy of international terrorism?

U.S. Stations 'Special Troops' in Gulf
LD181830 Moscow World Service in English
1600 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Text] The United States has stationed special troops and sophisticated weapons in a number of countries in the Persian Gulf region. This was reported by sources in American secret services who wish to remain anonymous. Saudi Arabia, they say, has lent its bases to the United States, while Bahrain, Kuwait, and Oman have received American contingents and provided their airfields for American helicopters.

Relations With U.S. Ships in Gulf Recounted
PM191119 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
18 Nov 87 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Captain Second Class P. Zhuravlev by "our correspondent" Captain Third Class V. Pasyakin: "Ladnyy's Exemplary Service"; date and place not stated]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted in which Captain Second Class P. Zhuravlev, captain of the escort ship *Ladnyy*, which has just returned from the Persian Gulf, describes the dangers to navigation there]

[Pasyakin] Because of the limited navigable area in the Persian Gulf you obviously had to operate in close proximity to foreign warships. What can you say about their behavior and attitude to the Soviet vessel?

[Zhuravlev] We were indeed often close to foreign vessels and warships. The large number of these warships, particularly of U.S. ones, was striking. We encountered the cruisers *Worden*, *Reeves*, and *Fox* and the guided missile frigates *Crommelin* and *Klaking*... Although the Persian Gulf is thousands of miles from U.S. shores, this has not, however, prevented the United States from declaring it a zone of its interests and sending a veritable armada there. The presence of huge forces has also determined the tactics of U.S. naval vessels and has

permitted them to divide up the Persian Gulf into regions in each of which a U.S. ship operates. So they are in complete control of the Gulf zone.

We had no threats or provocations from U.S. ships, rather the opposite. For example, they greeted our ship, thanked us for combined work, and expressed their friendliness... In short, they built relations as though we were acting together and were solving the same task. But our policy has nothing in common with the strong-arm policy and defense of the United States' "national interests." The single task of our small number of vessels was escorting and defending Soviet vessels. [passage omitted]

Carlucci Cited at Confirmation Hearings
PM181607 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 87
Second Edition p 4

[Abridged reprint of "THE WASHINGTON POST article" under the rubric "Verbatim"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee has started hearings on the confirmation of F. Carlucci as the next U.S. secretary of defense. *The Washington Post* quotes Carlucci's testimony at the hearings. It writes in particular:

Having distanced himself from some of Weinberger's political programs and abandoned the tone of confrontation typical of Weinberger, Carlucci declared that he would recommend the termination of some arms programs and reductions in the U.S. Armed Forces.

Carlucci also declared that arguments for or against the so-called "narrow" or "broad" interpretation of the ABM Treaty remain "ambiguous" and put forward a proposal that decisions on future tests of ABM systems be made following consultations with Congress.

The committee members highly appraised Carlucci's statements in the spirit of cooperation and promised swift confirmation of his nomination.

"As I look at the budget figures that are being debated, it is becoming clear that we may be talking about a different size military force," Carlucci declared. "It does mean terminating some programs in order to fund others more fully. It does mean delaying some new starts and it could mean appropriating money from other budget sections in order to apply it to boost the efficiency of production rates..."

According to *The Washington Post*, Carlucci's statements confirmed the widely held opinion that he would not be as resolute as Weinberger in supporting the deployment of ABM defense systems being developed within the framework of the SDI program. "I think it will be quite some time before we are in a position to make a decision" on the adequate profitability of SDI in order to justify a decision on deployment, Carlucci pointed out.

In contrast with Weinberger, who described as "legally correct" the "broad" interpretation of the ABM Treaty which allows unlimited SDI tests, Carlucci said: "I am no lawyer, but as far as I understand the arguments by some lawyers, the question of a narrow or broad interpretation remains ambiguous."

Carlucci said that if "the need arises for tests demanding a switch to a broad interpretation, we would be able to find some solution acceptable to members of Congress" who are opposed to such tests. Weinberger was against any compromises with Congress on SDI tests under the broad interpretation.

He also pointed out that he would back the upcoming U.S.-Soviet treaty on medium-range nuclear forces at next year's Senate hearings on its ratification and would oppose any attempts by conservatives in Congress to make amendments to the agreement or to incorporate in it demands that the treaty should come into force only after the termination of any violations committed by the Soviets in the arms control sphere. "We have to evaluate new treaties on their own merits," Carlucci stressed.

Ivanov Denies VOA Misinformation Claims

PM181333 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[B. Ivanov commentary under the "Pertinent Notes" rubric: "They Want Their Own Way Again—Apt Remarks"]

[Excerpts] "Voice of America" broadcast a commentary 9 November accusing the Soviet Union of allegedly "launching a malicious political campaign against the United States" and disseminating misinformation about America. Washington complains that the Soviet press, radio, television, and news agencies are allegedly fabricating and then flooding the world with reports portraying the United States in an unflattering light.

Specifically, what we are talking about here are publications in our press, including *Izvestiya*, which have indeed been printed but which have been based in every instance on foreign sources and Western mass media reports, including from the United States.

The question arises in this connection: Why have Washington's propagandists suddenly had to invent some more slander about our country?

The whole point is that the current process of restructuring our society and broadening democratization and glasnost has left virtually no one abroad indifferent. The restructuring process is welcomed by our friends, who regard it as a sign of the Soviet system's stability and dynamism. Glasnost cuts the ground from beneath the feet of anti-Soviet propaganda and the traditional claims that ours is a "closed" society are collapsing like houses made of cards.

Charles Wick, head of the USIA and, consequently, head of "Voice of America," frankly instructed his colleagues not so long ago: "Moscow has captured the general attention. The spirit of the free world, its present lifestyle, and its security prospects are now under threat." In other words, he sees a new "Soviet threat" in current Soviet policy and has sounded the alarm. Those on the Potomac look for any pretext to sow the seeds of doubt. If no such pretext exists, they create one, blackening the situation as far as they possibly can.

This approach is not new. They produce some theory out of thin air, invent some questions about it, answer them themselves, comment on these answers, and draw their own conclusions. More venomous fantasies about the Soviet Union are the result. Their aim is to prevent—at any cost—the truth about the Soviet Union from getting through to the Americans and becoming firmly established in their minds. This has been true in the past and is still true today. That is why, apart from anything else, the accusations made by "Voice of America" against the Soviet mass media are designed to conceal the subversive activity of those people across the ocean for whom misinformation has long been a second profession. [passage omitted listing "examples of their dirty deeds"]

The matter could be wrapped up right here and now if it were not for one little "but." Three "buts," to be more exact. First, the aforementioned "Voice of America" commentary ended with the words that it reflected the viewpoint of the U.S. Government. Second, the subject of the commentary was drawn from the latest anti-Soviet package of lies recently concocted by the State Department, the Pentagon, the CIA, and some other institutions and given the pretentious title "Activity in Support of Soviet Influence: Report on Active Measures and Propaganda, 1986-1987," which is brimming over with unfounded accusations against us. Third, the "canard" broadcast by "Voice of America" is just part of an extensive campaign that has been stepped up again recently across the ocean—a campaign involving influential government departments and influential, powerful people. Consequently, the hostile statements coming out of the U.S. capital cannot fail to arouse feelings of indignation and, at the same time, regret on our part.

It can hardly be pure chance that such a crucial time—when preparations for the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington are in full swing—has been chosen for this latest series of anti-Soviet outbursts.

What exactly are the administration's aims? Perhaps it is hoping to force the Soviet Union into making some unilateral concessions, or is trying to elicit the indulgence of the extreme right for its intention to conclude an agreement with the "reds" which would make peace on earth more secure? Questions, questions....

Here is an interesting point. This kind of approach is resorted to whenever serious business is on hand. Remember Weinberger's notorious letter on the eve of

the Geneva summit meeting or the exaggerated "Daniloff affair" just before Reykjavik? Today, as we can see, history is repeating itself. One would like to hope that the U.S. side will nevertheless show enough common sense and responsibility to take a serious, businesslike approach to the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. meeting.

Telebridge Previewed, Popularity Noted

*LD190530 Moscow TASS in English 0432 GMT
19 Nov 87*

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—A direct TV linkup between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress started today at 7:30 Moscow time. On the Soviet Side, Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, and Cosmonaut Alexey Yeliseyev, rector of the Moscow Higher Technical School, participate in the dialogue transmitted over space communications between the Kremlin and the Capitol. They are both deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The first TV linkups between parliamentarians of the two countries were devoted to mutual familiarization, disarmament issues and human rights. It was expected that the present discussion (the last in the planned series) would deal with regional conflicts. However, on the eve of the Washington summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, it is an easy guess that the range of questions will be much broader and will include various aspects of Soviet-American relations.

The TV linkups between parliamentarians of the two countries enjoy great popularity: Three-quarters of all TV viewers saw them in the Soviet Union.

Letter Asks Reagan for Hijackers' Extradition

*PM181617 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 87
Second Edition p 5*

[“Letter From Stewardess Nadezhda Kurchenko's Brother to U.S. President R. Reagan, the U.S. State Department and Federal Government, and the Inhabitants of the U.S. City of Los Angeles”—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Mr President,

Representatives of the U.S. State Department and Federal Government,

Esteemed inhabitants of the U.S. city of Los Angeles,

Some 17 years ago, on 15 October 1970, the Brazinskases, father and son, made an armed attack on the crew of AN-24 passenger aircraft No 46256 with Soviet citizens on board flying on the Batumi-Sukhumi route.

As a result of the attack, during which firearms were used, a stewardess, 19-year-old Komsomol member Nadezhda Vladimirovna Kurchenko, was killed, crew

captain G. Chakhrakiya and navigator V. Fadeyev were seriously wounded, and flight engineer O. Babayan sustained injuries to his body. The terrorists ordered the captain to change course and land the aircraft at the airport at Trabzon, in Turkey.

The pirates threatened to blow up the aircraft with grenades if the crew did not obey. As he was losing consciousness, the captain was compelled to order a change of course...

USSR investigators carried out a painstaking inquiry into the terrorist hijack which confirmed not only the Brazinskases' guilt, but also the fact that the crime was committed on the territory of the Georgian SSR.

In view of the fact that the accused had fled abroad the Georgian SSR Supreme Court was forced to examine the case in the Brazinskases' absence and it sentenced P. Brazinskases to death and his son, who committed the murder, to 10 years' imprisonment, since he was a minor.

The convicted criminals have the right to appeal.

Mr Reagan,

At the moment the criminals are on U.S. territory. Seven times in 17 years our family has appealed to you, Mr President, and to representatives of the U.S. State Department and U.S. Federal Government for assistance in delivering the state criminals, the Brazinskases, into the hands of the Soviet authorities so that the just sentences can be carried out.

The failure to hand the criminals over is giving rise to reasonable doubts about the willingness of the United States to actually cooperate in the matter of combatting the hijacking of aircraft. This attitude contradicts the international principles of human rights and the declaration on terrorism which the seven Western countries' leaders adopted at their Venice meeting and which was signed by you, Mr President.

Esteemed inhabitants of the U.S. city of Los Angeles,

The pirate killers of the young Soviet woman, stewardess Nadezhda Kurchenko, the Brazinskases, father and son, have taken refuge in a district of Los Angeles with its population of many millions! For many years they have hidden, like cowards, from Soviet people's justice since committing the terrorist act and the heinous crime of murder. The murder of a totally innocent person.

Even though Brazinskases junior is married to an American and expects to become a U.S. citizen soon this does not release him and Brazinskases senior from their just liability, from retribution. The blood of a young Soviet woman is on the pirates' hands! She could have lived, worked, borne children, and been a happy wife!

I do not know how A. Brazinskas can embrace his wife, lead his life, and be happy when the 19-year-old woman he killed lies buried in Komsomol Park in Sukhumi!

On behalf of the entire Kurchenko family and all Soviet people who have written in support of our just demands, I appeal to you for the eighth time, Mr President, to the representatives of the State Department and Federal Government and to all inhabitants of the U.S. city of Los Angeles to hand over the state criminal P. Brazinskas and A. Brazinskas who have committed a grave crime—the murder of a Soviet person on USSR territory.

Delegation Views U.S. Agricultural Practices
PM181539 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
11 Nov 87 p 5

[Special correspondent N. Osychkin report under the rubric "On American Roads": "Time and Trends"; first paragraph is SELSKAYA ZHIZN introduction]

[Excerpts] Washington-Moscow—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' Commissions for the Agro-Industrial Complex headed by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the United States in October at the invitation of the House Agriculture Committee of the U.S. Congress. The delegation included N.P. Osychkin, *Selskaya Zhizn's* crop farming and forestry editor. Today we begin publishing his reports on U.S. agriculture.

After crossing the Atlantic, our aircraft landed on the concrete strip of Washington's airport. After the official ceremonies the Soviet parliamentarians began familiarizing themselves with the practice of the U.S. agro-industrial complex. Meetings were held with congressmen, representatives of business circles, scientists, and farmers. [passage omitted]

U.S. specialists emphasized in the talks that, despite the fact that the United States has, on the whole, a huge foreign trade deficit, agriculture is marked by a positive trade balance. The biggest export items are corn, wheat, soybeans, and vegetable oil.

Unfortunately, in Soviet-U.S. trade and economic ties barriers exist that have been artificially created by the U.S. Administration. Consequently, a great imbalance has arisen in trade, and it is not in our favor. The Soviet Union's parliamentarians drew the attention of the leaders of the administration and of corporations to the need to resolutely remove discrimination in trade, establish normal mutually advantageous economic relations, and open up broad access to the U.S. market for Soviet goods. The firm opinion was voiced that feed grain, soybeans, and other high-protein items will continue to interest the USSR in America.

Many businessmen, scientists, and farmers were understanding of this stand by our country and expressed readiness to share with the USSR Gosagroprom the best experience and the most modern technologies in agriculture. Such a desire can only be welcomed and channeled in a businesslike direction.

American Art Exhibition Opens in Moscow
PM181345 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 87
Morning Edition p 6

[N. Kishchik report: "Pictures From America" under rubric "Exhibitions"]

[Excerpts] "New Horizons" is the title of the American art exhibition showing work by artists from the middle of the last century to the beginning of this century. It opened 16 November at the All-Union State Tretyakov Gallery Museum Association on Krymskiy Val Street. [passage omitted]

The American exhibition is a major event in Moscow cultural life. The opening ceremony was attended by V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture; R.M. Gorbacheva, member of the Soviet Culture Fund Presidium; cultural luminaries and representatives of the public. The ceremony was addressed by A. Hammer, an eminent representative of U.S. business circles; R. Adams, president of the Smithsonian Institution; V.I. Kazenin, USSR deputy minister of culture; and J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

China

Foreign Ministry Cited on U.S.-USSR Summit
LD182018 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Beijing November 18 TASS—"We welcome the coming summit meeting between leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States and the agreement in principle reached by them on intermediate-range missiles. The signing of an official agreement on intermediate-range missiles and its practical implementation would be a step forward on the way to disarmament".

This has been stated at a briefing for Chinese and foreign journalists by a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China who set forth the stand of the Chinese Government with regard to the coming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. "However, it is worth mentioning that this class of missiles is only a small part of the nuclear arsenals of the two countries. The Government of the People's Republic of China hopes that USSR and the U.S. will not stop on what they are about to achieve, will continue serious talks on nuclear disarmament in other spheres, will reach corresponding agreements and put them into practice", he pointed out.

Northeast Asia

Rogachev Talks in Japan 'Businesslike, Frank'

LD181252 Moscow TASS in English 1225 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Tokyo November 18 TASS—Soviet-Japanese political consultations have been held in Tokyo in keeping with an agreement.

They were conducted by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and his Japanese opposite number Takakazu Kuriyama. The Soviet representative was received by Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno and First Deputy Foreign Minister Rehei Murata.

In a businesslike and frank atmosphere the sides exchanged opinions on a wide range of issues concerning the present-day international situation and bilateral relations. Stress was made on the desirability of overcoming the current slump in bilateral relations and lending them dynamism, which will meet the long-term interests of the USSR and Japan.

It was agreed to hold the next round of consultations in Moscow in 1988.

Demichev Meets Japanese Parliamentarian

LD181921 Moscow TASS in English 1127 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—Prospects for developing Soviet-Japanese relations in various fields were discussed today in the Kremlin at a meeting between Petr Demichev, an alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and a first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Japanese MP Tatsuro Matsumae, chairman of the board of the Japanese Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and rector of Tokai University.

Matsumae spoke highly of Soviet foreign policy initiatives and stressed the significance of the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, saying that they offered a possibility for activating Japanese-Soviet relations as well.

In the course of the friendly meeting stress was made on the importance of the concept for security in Asia and the Pacific, which has been put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok, and of the principles of the Delhi declaration for creating a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

Note was taken of the successful development of contacts between the two countries in cultural and scientific fields. In the opinion of the participants in the meeting, brisker commercial, economic, scientific and technological exchanges meet the interests of the people of both countries. The need to solve the pressing global problems

of strengthening peace, protecting the environment, upgrading health services, providing enough food for all, and others called for a new manner of thinking and the renunciation of stereotypes. Extensive contacts at every level, including parliament-to-parliament links, have an important role to play in these efforts.

Near East & South Asia

Ryzhkov Leaves for India, Seen Off by Zaykov

LD191437 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1330 GMT 19 Nov 87

[Text] Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, left Moscow for New Delhi today for an official friendly visit at the invitation of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India and of the Indian Government. He will attend the opening of the festival of the USSR in India.

He was seen off at Vnukovo Airport by Comrade Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, and other official persons.

India-PRC Border Talks Begin in Delhi

PM181629 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 87
Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent N. Paklin report under the rubric "India-China": "At the Border Talks"]

[Text] Delhi—The eighth round to date in the border talks between India and China began Sunday in the Indian capital. The previous round was held in Beijing in 1986.

The current talks, according to Indian observers, are proceeding in an atmosphere of "cautious optimism." Both sides attach great significance to them. It was stressed in political circles here on the eve of the talks that this time they will go beyond the subject of border problems and deal with bilateral relations and topical regional and global international problems.

"The border issues are not insoluble if both sides show determination and sincerity," Liu Shuqing, PRC deputy foreign minister and head of the Chinese delegation, told journalists at Delhi International Airport. "We in China hope that they will be resolved in the near future."

Indian newspapers note the positive changes which have taken place in recent months in relations between the two countries. R.S. Kalkha [name as published], Indian deputy foreign minister, paid a 3-day visit to Beijing at the beginning of November. The agenda for the current talks, which will last through 18 November, was agreed as a result of his visit.

Pakistani President on 'Intervention' in DRA
LD190106 Moscow TASS in English 1938 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—TASS news analyst Leonid Ponomarev writes:

President Zia ul Haq of Pakistan, *Reuter* news agency reported, on Tuesday visited areas in Southern Waziristan bordering on the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and spoke out openly in support of the armed struggle by the Afghan extremists in Afghanistan, who entrenched themselves in Pakistani territory. He justified Pakistan's intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan and the backing by the Islamabad regime of the Afghan "Moslem brothers" as a certain commitment under Islam. He qualified the extremists' terrorist actions in the territory of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) as a "holy war".

The instigative speeches by the head of the Pakistani regime near the DRA borders can hardly contribute to a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, to which they in Islamabad demagogically call so frequently. The actions, however, show that the Pakistani authorities keep following in the wake of the U.S. Administration's policy aimed at escalating the undeclared war against Afghanistan rather than at putting an end to it.

No farther than last week, the U.S. President received several ringleaders of the Afghan counter-revolutionaries (dushmans) and promised them to increase U.S. aid for bandit operations. The visit by Zia ul Haq to areas bordering on Afghanistan serves principally the same objectives—to inspire the Afghan extremists for continued bloodshed in Afghanistan. The Afghan dushmans, who received training in camps in Pakistani territory (their number runs into 120) and were armed on U.S. dollars, rely on terror in their attempts to stymie the national reconciliation process on Afghan soil. A car bomb exploded in the most crowded place in downtown Kabul early this month. The blast left 27 people killed and 35 injured. Bombs are planted in mosques, schools and in Kabul airport, that is in crowded places. And this is passed off as a "holy war" for Islam, as a "commitment under Islam". The bomb planted by dushmans in the Shirhan lyceum in the city of Kunduz killed six children. The building of the main mosque in Pashtun Zargun district, Herat Province, was blown off. A library was set on fire in Lashkargha, the administrative centre of Helmand Province. Thousands of ancient books and manuscripts were burnt. A bomb ripped through the Farahi Hotel in the city of Ghazni. The list of the gory atrocities by extremists can be extended, but all of them bear witness that acting on an instruction from Washington and with the backing of Islamabad, terrorists wage the so-called holy war against their own people. Seven thousand teachers and about a thousand clergymen died at their hands over seven years.

These are the deeds to which Pakistani speakers and White House officials instigate their henchmen—Afghan extremists.

DRA Forces Seize Arms From 'Extremist Groups'
PM190839 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 18 Nov 87 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Afghanistan"]

[Text] Throughout the week the DRA Armed Forces have been carrying out operations against counterrevolutionary extremist groups in a number of Afghanistan's provinces. More than 300 units of small arms, 13 mortars, 3 recoilless guns, and rocket missiles were seized in Konduz alone.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on Heroes Returning From DRA

PM191129 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Krasnaya Zvezda* in Russian 15 November 1987 First Edition carries on page 1 under the headline "Tashkent Welcomes the Heroes" a 400-word report by their own correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Ladin describing his meetings with a handful of servicemen returning from Afghanistan, extolling their heroism. Apart from a description of individual feats, the report contains their tribute to a colleague who was killed and includes two captioned photographs, one depicting a soldier being presented with the Order of the Red Star against the backdrop of the lineup of his unit and snow-covered mountains, the other depicting a soldier kissing the unit's battle banner in a farewell ceremony against a similar background.

Sri Lanka President Receives Delegation
PM190835 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 87
Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Soviet Delegation Received"]

[Text] Colombo, 17 Nov—Yesterday Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayewardene received a delegation of the Soviet public here to take part in events devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. During their conversation J.R. Jayewardene noted the great international importance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, highly appraised the role played by the USSR in the struggle for peace, and spoke in favor of further developing friendly relations between the two countries.

Soviet delegation head S.I. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and president of the "USSR-SRI Lanka" Friendship Society, talked about the Great October Revolution 70th anniversary celebrations in the USSR and set out the main points of M.S. Gorbachev's report at the ceremonial session in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

Soviet Navy Detachment Visits Aden

*LD181456 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1420 GMT 18 Nov 87*

[Text] Aden, 18 Nov (TASS)—An official friendly visit to the port of Aden by a group of Soviet naval ships commanded by Rear Admiral Vasily Sergeyev started today. The group is composed of the large antisubmarine vessel *Admiral Tributs* and the destroyer *Boyevoy*.

The capital of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen welcomed the Soviet ships with a salvo of nations [as received].

Change of Tunisian Regime 'Passes Quietly'

*PM191137 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 87
Second Edition p 6*

[Report by own correspondent S. Filatov under the rubric "Echo of Events: Rumors and Facts": "Change of Power"]

[Text] Algiers, 15 Nov—The doyen of the leaders of African states, one of those whose names are associated with the period of the country's liberation from colonialism, 84-year-old Habib Bourguiba, president of Tunisia, has ended his political activity, after having been replaced as head of state.

It took place on the morning of 7 November. At 0600 hours Tunisian radio began broadcasting a statement by Prime Minister Z. Labedine Ben Ali which expressed a high opinion of H. Bourguiba's role in the country's history and his services to the people and said that in view of his age and deteriorating health he was unable to carry out the duties of president of the republic. Medical findings, signed by seven doctors, were also published, stating that H. Bourguiba's state of health prevented him from performing presidential functions. Z. Labedine Ben Ali announced that, in accordance with the constitution, he was assuming the duties of president and commander in chief of the armed forces. Article 57 of the Tunisian constitution stipulates that if the post of president becomes vacant "in the event of his death, resignation, or insurmountable obstacles," the country's prime minister immediately takes over the presidency and remains president until the next parliamentary elections.

So 51-year-old Z. Labedine Ben Ali, who had been minister of the interior since May 1986 and was also appointed prime minister on 2 October this year, became the second president in the history of independent Tunisia. He was born in 1936, studied electronic engineering, and then, during military service, underwent training at a number of French and U.S. army training establishments. This was followed by leading posts in the security service and several years abroad in diplomatic work. He holds the rank of army general.

On the afternoon of 7 November Zine Labedine Ben Ali was sworn in at a special session of the House of Representatives—the country's parliament. His first statement, disseminated by the TAP agency, defines the positions relating to the new president's future domestic and foreign policy. Ben Ali stressed the need to revise the constitution, above all the articles legalizing the post of president for life (H. Bourguiba was proclaimed thus in 1975) and the prime minister's automatic inheritance of the top state post—a situation in which the people are not allowed to participate in deciding this question. Then he proposed the adoption in the very near future of two new laws: On the press and on parties, which would ensure Tunisians' wider participation in the process of developing the country and strengthening its independence "within the framework of order and discipline." Concerning the sphere of international politics, Ben Ali declared his loyalty to Tunisia's foreign policy commitments and his desire to maintain good relations with all countries.

The president was accompanied in the parliament by the members of the government that had been formed that day, headed by a leading figure of the ruling Destourian Socialist Party, Hedi Baccouche.

The first session of the Council of Ministers was held on Thursday 12 November.

The situation in Tunisia remains calm. The change of power took place without any excesses. There was a demonstration in support of the new president on Bourguiba Avenue.

In the period immediately after Ben Ali's statement on the radio several people close to Bourguiba were placed in isolation, but they were soon at liberty again. The new authorities also made a gesture to those who had been victims of repression under the previous president — H. Achour, former secretary general of a major trade union association, was released from detention and the wife of M. Mzali, who left the country in September 1986 after being removed from the premiership, had her passport returned to her.

The official Tunisian press is writing of the start of a "new era" in the country's history. The political opposition was positive, but more restrained in its assessment of the change of leadership and is demanding "national reconciliation" and the "declaration of a general amnesty." The three parties in it, including the Tunisian Communist Party, are currently holding consultations to work out a common stance at talks with the government.

So the moment of the transfer of power, which was tensely awaited in Tunisia, passed quietly and in accordance with the constitution. The new leadership has defined its position as one of progress toward the implementation of its declared aims.

Soviet-Libyan Friendship Cited at 'Soiree'
LD190014 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1300 GMT 18 Nov 87

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The desire to develop and consolidate friendly Soviet-Libyan relations and mutually-favorable cooperation in various fields, was declared by representatives of the public at a soiree in Moscow devoted to the opening in our country of Days of Soviet-Libyan Friendship. Those assembled were addressed by 'Abd al-Raziq al-Sawsa, head of the delegation of the Society of Arab Libyan-Soviet Friendship and deputy general secretary of the Libyan General People's Congress.

The programme of the days of friendship comprises the guests' meetings with the public in the Soviet capital and in Kazakhstan, performances by artistes, demonstrations, exhibitions, meetings, and lectures. Present at the soiree were M. Sha'ban, secretary of the People's Committee of the Libyan People's Bureau in the USSR; and heads of diplomatic missions of a number of foreign states accredited in the Soviet Union.

Kapitsa Meets With Libyan Official
LD182032 Tripoli JANA in English 1418 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, Al-Harth [November] 18, *Jamahiriyyah News Agency*—The assistant secretary of the General People's Congress met in Moscow with Mr. Kapitsa, chairman of the Soviet Committee in Solidarity with the Afro-Asia Peoples.

The two sides have discussed ways of promoting cooperation between the two countries and have exchanged viewpoints on a variety of matters.

Additionally, the assistant secretary of the General People's Congress met with the secretary-general of the Soviet Peace Committee.

PRAVDA Reports Khomeyni War Efforts Order
PM181235 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 87
Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under general heading "Newsflash": "Air Force Raids and Artillery Shelling"]

[Text] 13 Nov—Ayatollah Khomeyni has issued an order to step up deliveries of all possible Iranian resources to meet the needs of the front "for the sake of total victory." "War efforts," he pointed out, "have priority over any domestic affairs."

IRNA reports that the Iranian Air Force carried out a raid in strength against an enemy garrison in Iraq's northeastern province of Irbil.

During the last few days, Iraqi Air Force aircraft have raided Iranian economic and military targets. According to INA reports, four "major naval targets" were hit close to the Iranian coastline.

Peresypkin Discusses Prospects for Israel Ties
PM181357 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in
Russian 12 Nov 87 Second Edition p 3

[Article by O. Peresypkin, rector of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Academy, in response to to reader I. Parfenov's question under the headline: "The Obstacle Is Aggression"]

[Text] "The USSR does not have diplomatic relations with Israel. Is there a possibility that they might be resumed?"

I. Parfenov, Gorkiy.

The Soviet Union favors establishing peace in the Near East. It proceeds on the basis that the continuation of the regional conflict will damage international security. That is why our country is making every effort within the framework of the United Nations and bilateral relations to normalize the situation in this region. In conversations with Soviet representatives political opponents often complain that the USSR has not had relations with the state of Israel since 1967 and that this is impeding active work to resolve the conflict situation in the Near East. Yes, the USSR did in fact break off diplomatic relations with Israel, which has carried out perfidious aggression against neighboring Arab states. Since then there have been no official relations between us and no diplomatic missions in our states' capitals. The Finnish Embassy protects the Soviet Union's interests in Israel, and Israel's interests in the USSR are protected by the Dutch Embassy.

However, this does not mean at all that our representatives do not maintain any contacts with the representatives of the state of Israel. The meeting between E.A. Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs, and S. Peres, Israeli minister of foreign affairs, at the 42d UN General Assembly session, where they discussed questions both of a Near East settlement and also of bilateral relations, can be given as an example.

The Soviet Union proceeds on the basis that bilateral relations between the two states could be settled within the framework of the Near East problem. This has been frequently discussed at all levels. In other words, the more the Israeli Government shows a desire to normalize good-neighborly relations with the Arabs, the more they show comprehension of the Palestinian problem and a constructive approach to the quest for a way out of the deadlock which has arisen, and the more vigor Tel Aviv shows in settling the conflict within the framework

of an international conference on the Near East, the more possible it will be to begin serious talk on a Near East settlement and on resuming our diplomatic relations.

At the 42d session of the UN General Assembly S. Peres, Israeli minister of foreign affairs, made an appeal to the chairman of the assembly in the form of an official document. It talked about convening an international conference on the Near East. This appeal determined Israel's position on the question of convening this conference, and also on the question of the actions which should, in the opinion of Tel Aviv, be taken to settle the crisis. I think that the appearance of the document in question is a favorable sign. The Israeli Government and public opinion, as is well known, are torn by conflicts as to whether to agree to a conference on the Near East or to continue to strive to establish peace "Israeli-style" by threatening to apply force and punitive measures with regard to the Palestinians and urge Arabs to make separate agreements with the aggressor. This is why the appearance of this document, especially within the framework of the United Nations, which is called upon to play its own positive role, must in this case be deemed a definite victory for good sense over extremism in Israeli political circles. It is now important to set in motion the negotiating mechanism of the Near East conference.

Israel is one of the sides in this conflict and in any case it has one of the key determining roles in terms of further work to settle the situation in the Near East. People in the Soviet Union understand this situation and are endeavoring to organize as far as possible dialogue with the Israeli Government on problems of a Near East settlement. E.A. Shevardnadze's meeting with S. Peres in New York was the fifth meeting between a USSR foreign minister and an Israeli foreign minister since diplomatic relations were severed. Soviet representatives had contacts with Israeli representatives in Rome in April 1987 at the session of the Socialist International Council and in Bonn in August within the framework of our efforts to convene a conference with the aim of achieving a Near East settlement. Most probably such contacts will continue.

At the present a group of consular workers from the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs are completing their work in Israel. They went there to resolve questions associated with Soviet citizens living in Israel and also with Soviet real estate in that country. Some people in Israel, yes and in the West too, are attempting to present our consular workers' technical mission as the first step toward resuming diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel. This is a gross fabrication. The Soviet Union, naturally, wants to develop relations with all states. But this cannot take place at the expense of us abandoning our fundamental positions on the most important problems of the day.

Amman Summit Conference 'Extraordinary'

PM181259 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 87
Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Glukhov dispatch: "The Echo of Amman. On the Outcome of the Arab Summit Conference"]

[Text] Amman, November—The Arab summit conference in the capital of Jordan lasted 4 days. It was an extraordinary event. Extraordinary in view of the situation in the Arab East, which demands immediate measures and solutions. After all, the embers of the unceasing Arab-Israeli conflict are still smoldering there as before. The conflagration of the Iran-Iraq war is blazing. The Lebanese crisis is fraught with potential danger.

There is also a complex situation within the Arab world itself, with its numerous differences of opinion, contradictions, and even enmity.

The sessions were held behind closed doors, but the external signs alone made it possible to conclude that matters were progressing far from smoothly. Plenary sessions were being put off, briefings were being postponed.

A detailed analysis of the Amman meeting will have to be done sometime in the future. Not all documents and decisions have been published. Even so, however, speaking of initial and main impressions, it has to be said that this was a meeting of dialogue, compromises, and desire to overcome rather than to display differences.

The Iran-Iraq conflict occupied a central position in the discussions. Was this right? Was there not some dislocation of the scale of priorities? These questions were often to be seen in the pages of the Arab press.

It is no secret that imperialist and Zionist circles would like to replace the Arab-Israeli conflict with the Iraq-Iran one and to expand and transform it into an Arab-Iran conflict. Some people did expect that events would develop in this direction and that Amman would produce an Arab front against Iran. But neither actually happened.

In spite of the rather sharp condemnation of Iran's stance, the Arab summit conference did not slam shut but left open the door to peaceful settlement of the conflict and to contacts with Tehran. It advocated fulfillment of UN Security Council Resolution 598.

But let us return to the question which King Husayn of Jordan described as "the main one for the Arabs"—the Arab-Israeli conflict. The declaration adopted in Amman confirms that the Palestinian problem lies at its core. Peace in the Near East, the document says, can be achieved only by putting an end to Israeli occupation of conquered Arab territories, restoring the Palestinian people's inalienable rights, and solving the Palestinian

question in all its aspects. An international conference on a Near East settlement, the declaration notes, is the only suitable means for a peaceful, fair, and comprehensive solution.

The question of Egypt was raised rather sharply at the conference. Its membership in the Arab League was suspended after the signing of a separate "peace treaty" with Israel. It was declared in Amman that the resumption of diplomatic relations with Egypt is a matter for each individual Arab state. Egypt was thus given an opportunity to emerge from isolation, but there was no rehabilitation of Al-Sadat's policy of separate deals.

The quest for solutions and the elaboration of a joint stance in Amman were difficult. Difficulties were created by the complexities of existing problems. They are aggravated by the diverse nature of the Arab world. After all, both pro-West conservative regimes and states marching along the path of progressive development were represented at the conference. The meeting's documents do not contain, for example, a single word condemning the policy of U.S. imperialism, which is mainly to blame for the crisis situation that has developed in the Near East. This may be why the Libyan delegation, on leaving Amman, distanced itself from the adopted decisions.

At the same time, it must be noted that the actual approach toward a Near East settlement adopted by the conference participants is in sharp contradiction with the U.S. and Israeli stance. The Arabs advocate the convening of an international conference while the United States and Israel sabotage it. The Arabs demand the liberation of their occupied lands while Israel, with U.S. complicity, strives to hold on to them. The Arab states single out in particular the Palestinian problem and declare that the PLO, as the sole legitimate spokesman for the Palestinian people, must participate in the international conference with full rights, while the United States and Israel stubbornly ignore this organization.

This approach by the Arabs suits Washington and Tel Aviv least of all. On the other hand, broader opportunities are becoming available for cooperation with the Soviet Union, which consistently supports the fair demands by the Arab peoples.

Round Table on Glasnost, Near East Reactions

PM171251 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Nov 87 p 14

[Igor Belyayev undated account of "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Press Club" discussion: "Glasnost: a Right and a Duty"; first three paragraphs are LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] The third *Literaturnaya Gazeta* press club brought together journalists in Moscow representing news agencies, newspapers, and journals from the Near

East: Adib al-Sayyid, Salim Musafir, Ahmad an-Nu'man, Muwaffaq ad-Ju'aymi (Kuwait), Yarub, Usamah Da'bul, Hamzah Matar (Syria), Mundhir Mana'ah, Hadir al-Zufayri (Palestine), Idris Majid, Michel Samahah, Riyad Najm, Ahmad Hasan (Lebanon), Ahmad Bourouin (Algeria), 'Abd al-Wahhab al Hasan, Jasim al-Mutawwar, Khalid Hasan (UAE), Abu Bakr Yusuf (Libya), Sami 'Amarah (Egypt), and Leon Zahawi (Israel).

The APN Chief Editorial Office of the Near and Middle Eastern countries assisted in organizing the meeting.

The Soviet Union's role and policy in the modern world on the threshold of the 21st century are clear. Great October's 70th anniversary just celebrated in Moscow is proof of this. Although, as was shown by the meeting with journalists from the Near East that took place at the editorial office before the celebrations, the way in which our actions are interpreted and comprehended in the international community are sometimes unexpected. Participants in the meeting asked many questions about glasnost, democratization, and restructuring in our country. This means that everything taking place in the Soviet Union interests and worries even the Near East, which would seem to be preoccupied with wars and conflicts. Particular attention during the meeting was given, quite naturally, to regional problems as well as their reflection in Soviet society. Today we publish the conversation between *Literaturnaya Gazeta* political reviewer Igor Belyayev and our guests.

Ahmad an-Nu'man (*Al-Watan* newspaper, Kuwait). My first question is connected with who is making use of glasnost and how in the Soviet Union today. In addition to all the positive aspects there is something which gives cause for concern. While some people seem to be in favor of glasnost and democratization, the spirit of the changes is not dear to them; they only want to defend their own interests. This sometimes coincides with interests of the West, in particular the United States. For example requests to leave for Israel have been heard more frequently recently than in the past from people of Jewish nationality. There have even been demonstrations on this question. Some months ago a letter was published from 10 dissidents abroad...

Igor Belyayev. What you are talking about sometimes does occur, quite naturally. Restructuring, democratization and glasnost in the Soviet Union are gathering momentum. Certain processes connected with glasnost are still at the very beginning of the road. I think, for example, that the main concern is that those on whom acceleration of the processes indicated depends should react quickly to the renewal taking place, and understand correctly the signals they receive, in particular, from the journalists of our newspapers and journals. As regards your allegations that the actions of my colleagues and

compatriots objectively coincide with U.S. interests, I cannot agree with that. I think that such an impression is a rather subjective interpretation of the problem which I was talking about earlier.

I shall answer your question concerning the demands by some Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality to go to Israel. Such demands are heard. We do not hide this. Yes, and there were demonstrations in Moscow. Yes, people do sometimes go the U.S. Embassy with some petitions. Recently the procedure for leaving the Soviet Union has been manifestly facilitated, nonetheless there are people, a very few people, who want to leave tomorrow. But, as in any other country, we have clear-cut legal conditions that cannot be omitted when permission to leave is granted.

There are no Zionist organizations in the Soviet Union. This concerns the actions of individuals and, moreover, a manifest minority. I know, for example, that less than 1,000 Jewish people emigrated from the Soviet Union to Israel in 1986. You have probably noticed, however, that a flow from the opposite direction has begun. I am referring to the return of Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality, which has really worried many people in the United States and in West Europe. What they have long and cunningly played upon when they used to say that the Jews were running away from the Soviet Union—all that was yesterday. There are many more former citizens of Jewish nationality who want to return home than there are wishing to leave the USSR.

Usamah Da'bul (SANA). You remember *Vechernyaya Moskva* published a report that one of the members of the Israeli delegation at the World Women's Congress, Ora Namir, and the head of this delegation, H. Grossman, (both members of the Israeli parliament) met with the "refuseniks."

Today we see that there is a correspondent from the newspaper *Al-Ittihad* (Israel) at the "Press Club." What does this mean? We have the impression that we know far from everything, and that we are not being told everything...

Igor Belyayev. I cannot understand why a meeting with two deputies from the Israeli parliament and a dozen "refuseniks" has made you so excited. There are a dozen "refuseniks" living in Moscow, so what? Will the Soviet Union collapse? Will our friendship with the Arabs be undermined? Will they undermine our efforts connected with the preparation for an international peace conference on the Near East? Of course not!

You expressed your attitude to the invitation of Leon Zahawi to our meeting so emotionally. In 1983 I was in Israel and saw with my own eyes who supports the Communist Party of Israel. They are Israeli Arabs, your brothers! And the *Al-Ittihad* newspaper is published in Arabic. How can you object to the participation of your Israeli colleagues in our meeting?

Now about Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality. We cannot pursue some special policy toward them, for instance we cannot pass laws allowing or prohibiting emigration. Do you remember 1934? Do you remember the Nuremberg laws? They were anti-Semitic laws. We will not take this path.

As for specific "refuseniks" demanding the right to leave, the majority of them, when they took a job involving security clearance, gave a written undertaking not to leave the country. Similar rules also exist in other countries and no one violates them. Why are they demanding that we violate our own laws? As far as *Literaturnaya Gazeta* is concerned, this question does not arise. The problem of the return of Jews to the USSR is much more realistic and urgent. Not everyone here welcomes the stream of returnees. I think these people are mistaken. It is not for nothing that the flight from "America the fortunate" has worried many people in Washington.

(Footnote) (After the meeting at *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, some "refusenik" activists received visas to leave the Soviet Union. But they are not rushing to leave...)

We have always had and continue to have clear positions of support for the Arabs' just struggle, including a comprehensive solution of the Palestinian and other complicated problems of a Near East settlement. The idea of the struggle for a just and long-term peace in the region, the idea of peaceful coexistence of all states lies at the basis of our initiative to call an international peace conference on the Near East. The basic prerequisite for such a peace is that Israel must give up its aggressive course toward the Arabs and restore the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine. Our position regarding the Iran-Iraq war is also well known.

Sami Amarah. Former Soviet Jews who went to Israel are taking part in the building of Israeli settlements, that is, in the colonization of occupied Arab territories, and thereby assisting in the "creeping annexation" of these territories. That means that, on the one hand, you oppose the Israeli occupation of Arab lands, and on the other hand — to the detriment of your own security — you let people who know your military secrets leave the country. I am basing myself on facts which I gleaned from the Soviet press...

Igor Belyayev. The Israeli settlements on the West bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip were not set up by former Soviet Jews. The settlers include a very large number of emigres from the United States. As for our position as regards Israel's aggressive course, I think that it is absolutely clear.

Now, events in Israel. Approximately 20-25 percent of the members in the Israeli parliament are in favor of calling an international conference on the Near East to resolve the Palestinian problem. Surely that is not bad? After all, by denying all this, by considering all Israelis to

be Zionists, you could automatically make a complete turnabout and go in the other direction — and then there will be no peace in the Near East. Neither in 100 years nor in 200 years. We are still in favor of this peace happening as soon as possible...

'Abd al-Wahhab al-Hasan (UAE) Mr. Belyayev, what would you like to say about "Islam and Politics?"

Igor Belyayev. This is not an article about Islam as a religion, and not an article about Islam in the Soviet Union. And it is not an article about Islam as a social institution. My article is about Islam and politics, about attempts by the West to use Islam against our country. That is the essence of it.

S. Musafir (*Al-Anba'*, Kuwait). Sometimes Islam is talked about only as a religion. We Arabs consider it to be both a culture and a civilization. What is your opinion in this respect?

Igor Belyayev. Judging by the question, you are in favor of a broad interpretation of Islam. But here is what should be taken into account. The Arabs have one culture and one civilization. The Turks and Persians have another culture and another civilization. The same applies to the Pakistanis and so on. Although all of them in the main profess Islam, it seems to me that in this case the national element should not be ignored, both in culture and civilization, as politics should not be ignored in any circumstances. If, under the cover of talks about Islam as a religion, some strive to use the religion of the Muslims for subversive purposes (whether we are talking about the export of the "Islamic revolution" or the "Islamic games" played by the United States and certain other Western countries), then what commonality of Islamic values can we talk about?

Ahmad Hasan (*Al-Fikr Al-'Arabi*). We Arabs are not against the Jews. We are against Zionism and Zionists leading the struggle against the Arabs and also against their own people. Does the Soviet Union consider that the well-known UN resolution, which regards Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination, is still valid? There are not good and bad Zionists!

Igor Belyayev. As before the Soviet Union supports the UN resolution on Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination. We are in favor of calling an international peace conference on the Near East with the participation of all interested parties including the PLO, but this automatically envisages talks between its participants and representatives from Israel—both the Arabs and representatives from other countries including the Soviet Union. Thus, compliance with the said UN resolution does not at all mean that we are against such talks, otherwise we shall never establish peace in the Near East. Such are the political realities in the region, and they cannot be ignored.

Sami 'Amarah (*Sabah Al-Khayr*, Egypt). I am forming the impression that the Soviet Union, which voted for the division of Palestine in 1946-1947, is acting with the Arabs for time-serving reasons. We consider that we are in the same boat as you. What is the position, in fact?

Igor Belyayev. Yes. The Soviet Union was in favor of the partition of Palestine, but, I should remind you, only when it became clear that a Palestine in which Arabs and Jews would live side by side could not be preserved. I shall not go into detail since in this case I would need too much time. As soon as the state of Israel, created in 1948, started to carry out an aggressive policy toward Egypt and the other Arab countries, to seize Palestinian and Arab lands, the Soviet Union decisively opposed its expansionist policy. In 1967, after the so-called June war, the Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relations with Israel because of this policy. There is still no noticeable sign that Israel is giving up its policy of aggression and expansion. As before we are against this Israeli policy. I remind you that our firm support for the Arabs was demonstrated for the first time 31 years ago—in October-November 1956! What has changed since that time in our position? Nothing. But there are changes in the position of certain Arab countries—yes, as regards the Soviet Union...

Now, about the so-called "time-serving considerations" of the Soviet Union in the Near East, our active policy in the region started in the middle of the 1950's. In particular, in 1955 the Soviet Union set up good relations with Egypt, and a little earlier with Syria. Remember the Soviet Union's position regarding Israel, which attacked Egypt, Jordan and Syria in June 1967? Remember how decisively the Soviet Union defended Egypt and Syria in the "October" war in 1973? I repeat, now the Soviet Union is firmly in favor of convening an international peace conference on the Near East with the participation of all interested parties including the PLO. In the name of what? In the name of a comprehensive, just settlement in the region. Where's the time-serving in this? Anyone who talks about it is obviously fantasizing.

Leon Zahawi (*Al-Ittihad* newspaper, Israel). I think that glasnost is an intensification and not a weakening of the ideological struggle. In the West and in Israel they say that restructuring in the USSR is a retreat from socialism. But here, at our meeting, there are people who think that glasnost, on the contrary, is the Soviet Union's retreat from the struggle against Zionism. I think that an exacerbation of the anti-Zionist struggle is taking place in your country. It is going on throughout the world, not only in the Soviet Union but also in the United States, Britain, France, and even in Israel. It seems to me that the Zionists are deliberately fanning the flames of the so-called "Jewish question" in the Soviet Union. By this means they want to damage your country's position and the just cause of the Arab countries. For example, it is said that former Soviet Jews are settling in the occupied territories, but no one says that M. Kahan has a U.S. passport: He is a citizen of the United States. Yet in the

United States the Jewish Defense League organizes explosions in the theater where the Bolshoy Theater is making a guest appearance. There was a pogrom in Tel Aviv: Four Arabs were slaughtered. Israeli extremists broke into houses where Arabs from the occupied territories live. After the violence they committed the victims of the pogrom were hospitalized. I think that protest demonstrations should be organized in Paris, London, New York, and Washington against such atrocities and crimes by the Israeli invaders.

Igor Belyayev. A very apt observation.

Leon Zahawi. We are interested in an international peace conference on the Near East and in establishing the rights of the Arab Palestinian people. We are struggling against Zionism. Does this aid the Arabs? Yes, it does. Does this aid the Arab-Palestinian cause? Of course, it does. So we should feel ourselves to be comrades in arms in the struggle.

Igor Belyayev. That is precisely the point of our meeting. Thank you, friends, for taking part in it.

East Europe

Further on Vorotnikov Talks With Husak

PM190915 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 87
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "A High Level"]

[Text] Prague, 13 Nov—G. Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, received V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, who is in the CSSR at the head of an RSFSR delegation, at Prague Castle today.

During a cordial and friendly conversation G. Husak and V.I. Vorotnikov exchanged information on the activity and topical tasks of the CPCZ and the CPSU in implementing the 17th CPCZ Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress decisions. It was emphasized that relations and cooperation between the two countries in all spheres have reached a high level. Evidence of this can be seen in the RSFSR Festival now under way in Czechoslovakia, which will enrich the Czechoslovak people's knowledge about the life and labor accomplishments of the largest Soviet republic, will make an important contribution toward the strengthening of the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples' friendship, and will give a fillip to the intensification of bilateral cooperation in implementing the program for the acceleration of economic and social development in both countries.

L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Czech Socialist Republic; J. Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; and USSR Ambassador to the CSSR V.P. Lomakin participated in the meeting.

On the same day V.I. Vorotnikov met with representatives of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association, a mass CSSR public organization rallying almost 2.5 million members within its ranks. V. David, chairman of the Association's Central Committee, spoke of its activity for the all-around development and strengthening of the relations of fraternal friendship between the CSSR and USSR peoples.

The RSFSR Festival in Czechoslovakia was marked by a reception held at the USSR Embassy in the CSSR, which was attended by the RSFSR delegation headed by V.I. Vorotnikov, CSSR party and state leaders, and representatives of creative unions and the Czechoslovak capital's public.

Having concluded its visit to Prague, the RSFSR delegation departed today for Bratislava, capital of the Slovak Socialist Republic. It is accompanied on its tour of the country by J. Havlin, CSSR Deputy Premier M. Lucan, and other officials.

Further on USSR Visit by CSSR's Strougal

Comparison of Talks With Ryzhkov

Moscow *Izvestiya* in Russian on 17 November in its Morning Edition on pages 1,4 carries a report on the talks between Nikolay Ryzhkov, CPSU Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Lubomir Strougal, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Czechoslovak Government. The *Izvestiya* report, entitled "Soviet-Czechoslovak Talks," has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 16 November Soviet Union *Daily Report*, page 30, and reveals the following variations:

Page 30, column one, paragraph one, last sentence: ...who is staying in this country on a working visit. [new paragraph]

Nikolay Ryzhkov acquainted the chairman of the CSSR Government with the progress in the fulfilment of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, which were aimed at a radical restructuring of all aspects of the life of Soviet society and its further democratization. He expressed the conviction that the transformations being implemented will further the strengthening of socialism and its international positions, as well as the improvement of fraternal cooperation between the Soviet Union and socialist Czechoslovakia.

The political events in Moscow connected with the celebration of the 70th anniversary of Great October were a convincing confirmation of this. They demonstrated the effectiveness of the CPSU's course for the all-round development of relations with socialist states

on the basis of the principles consolidated by the working meeting of the leaders of the fraternal parties of socialist CEMA member countries in Moscow in November 1986.

Lubomir Strougal provided information on the implementation of the decisions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, the measures being adopted to restructure the mechanism for managing the economy, and stressed the Czechoslovak people's resolute support for the policy aimed at accelerating the country's social and economic development. Communists and the broad masses of the population take in with profound affinity the innovative course of the CPSU and the consistent and persistent work on its implementation.

The talks focused on the issues of realizing the understandings reached during the meetings... (inserting additional paragraphs; picking up with paragraph two, sentence one)

Page 30, column two, paragraph one, last line: ...increasing bilateral trade and improving its pattern.

The certainty was expressed that the expansion of the economic interaction of the two countries will make it possible to make fuller use of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor in the interests of the dynamic development of the national economies of the USSR and the CSSR, and the further increase in the well-being of their peoples.

The heads of government stressed the importance of the consistent implementation of the decisions of the 43d (extraordinary) CEMA meeting which create a good basis for purposeful work on restructuring the mechanism of socialist economic integration.

In the course of discussing international issues, complete unity of views was confirmed in the appraisal of the situation in Europe and in the world as a whole. The conviction was expressed that forging a comprehensive system ... (inserting additional paragraphs; picking up in column two, paragraph two, sentence two)

Column two, paragraph six, only line: ...The talks were held in a warm, comradely atmosphere. The following took part in the talks: On the Soviet side, A. K. Antonov and I. S. Silayev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; B. I. Aristov, USSR Foreign Trade Minister, K. F. Katushev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; Yu. P. Khomenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan; V. P. Loginov, USSR deputy foreign minister; V. P. Lomakin, Soviet ambassador to the CSSR. On the Czechoslovak side, R. Rohlicek, first deputy chairman of the CSSR government; L. Gerle, deputy chairman of the CSSR government; B. Urban, CSSR foreign trade minister; J. Strba, deputy chairman of the CSSR State Planning Commission; J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR.

A joint Soviet-Czechoslovakian protocol was signed... (supplying names; picking up final paragraph)

Focuses on Cooperation

PM181143 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 87
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Coordination Will Be Closer"]

[Text] Prague, 17 Nov—The meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, that took place during my working visit to the USSR was very useful and substantive, L. Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czechoslovak premier, told journalists. The meeting paid special attention above all to new elements in cooperation. Stress was placed on the need to improve the integration mechanism and coordinate more closely the economic reforms taking place in CEMA countries from the standpoint of foreign economic ties.

L. Strougal pointed out that in his talks with N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, they discussed not only bilateral ties but also the mechanism of socialist economic integration as a whole. The fact that the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries are carrying out programs to accelerate socioeconomic development, which is bound up in the most direct way with the reforms in the economics sphere and the restructuring and democratization of all spheres of life, should be taken into account in the sphere of bilateral relations. These factors must be taken into account when shaping our future relations, particularly in coordinating the long-term plans for national economic development for 1991-1995.

Stresses Economic Intergration

LD162028 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 16 Nov 87

[Text] Lubomir Strougal gave an interview to Czechoslovak journalists before his departure for Prague at the conclusion of his working visit to the USSR. Czechoslovak radio correspondent Petr Voldan reminded the federal premier of his interview at the end of the CEMA session in Moscow, in which he said that much responsible work lies ahead for the socialist countries. Now, he asked, what occurred during the talks between the Czechoslovak premier and Nikolay Ryzhkov for the further advancement of Czechoslovak-Soviet economic relations?

[Begin recording] [Strougal] Naturally, we talked with Comrade Ryzhkov not only about bilateral relations but about the overall mechanism of economic integration. In bilateral relations, we have to take into consideration the new stage we are entering, as the USSR, the CSSR, and other socialist countries map out for themselves the program for speeding up socioeconomic advancement. This is connected with certain reforms in economic and

political sphere, with restructuring, with democratization. We must consider these issues for the formation of our future relations, particularly where long-term development is in question and where we speak of beginning work on the coordination of plans for 1991-95. We must take into consideration the new ideas and re-evaluate trends persisting from the past, as for last 30-40 years we have only been prolonging a certain structure with small changes, a certain technical-economic standard and quality of production, and mutual exchanges of goods. This period, however, is new and requires new criteria. Therefore it is necessary to re-evaluate our future plans within a realistic time span. This was the main content of the talks with Comrade Ryzhkov. I think we understood each other, but now it is necessary to implement these ideas thoroughly, as our central bodies and some enterprises, as well, still have the trend to maintain a certain inertia and certain stereotypes. This must stop. We must all mutually adapt to technical updating, to structural changes, to reconstruction in the process of a rational international division of labor.

The second issue is that of the integration mechanism. We must say that we will not come up to the standard of world labor productivity unless we implement the integration mechanism within, again, a realistic timespan. This will have to take place multilaterally, or bilaterally, and we will expand the participation of other CEMA countries later.

[Unidentified speaker] You had a meeting with Comrade Gorbachev which lasted more than 1 hour. How would you describe it, briefly?

[Strougal] The meeting consisted of very comprehensive talks and was a follow-up of the meeting with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, particularly concerning the new ideas we have just mentioned. They were described as necessary starting points for speeding up the process already mentioned as the integration mechanism.

The entire economic reform in the individual countries must be very effectively coordinated from viewpoint of external relations in order to achieve a certain similarity. We do not need to imitate each other (?in everything), but we must be compatible in external relations. This means the mechanisms must be in tune, so as to stimulate the export ability and, naturally, that they also create possibilities for imports.

Naturally, Comrade Gorbachev explained to me in great detail the issue of current situation in restructuring and democratization, and brought forward more and more arguments illustrating the way current views are established and how further views on the future course of restructuring, its speed and forms, are formulated. Next to the economic reform, he put the main emphasis on democratization and on winning over ordinary people and then the senior cadres in particular, whether in the party or in the economy, to the radical restructuring being prepared in the USSR. [end recording]

Soviet Spokesman on Visit

LD171548 Prague CTK in English 1450 GMT
17 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow Nov 17 (CTK correspondent)—The Czechoslovak and Soviet sides agreed in Moscow that in the two countries' economic development plans require new effective forms of economic, scientific and technical contacts, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a press conference here today.

Stressing the significance of the working visit of Lubomir Strougal, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and federal premier, to the Soviet Union, the spokesman said that the two sides pointed to the necessity to further expand specialization and cooperation in production and to develop direct contacts between industrial and agricultural enterprises.

The talks also confirmed identity of views on the situation in Europe and the world. Both sides expressed the conviction that the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security is a reliable way of creating a world without wars, the spokesman said.

Officials at Airport Sendoff

PM181147 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 87
Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Community of Goals and Unity of Views"]

[Text] On 16 November L. Strougal left Moscow for home. He was in the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet Government on a working visit.

N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, bade the visitor farewell at the aircraft steps at Vnukovo Airport.

The following took part in the send-off: A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; B.K. Aristov, USSR minister of foreign trade; K.F. Katushev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; V.P. Loginov, USSR deputy foreign minister; O.K. Rybakov, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR; and other officials.

J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR, was among the send-off party.

The CSSR and USSR state flags were hoisted at the airport.

Poles Investigating 'Terrorist' Smuggler

PM190843 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 87
Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Financed by the West"]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Nov—At a press conference in Warsaw today the Polish Government's press spokesman announced the first results of the investigation into the case of Krzysztof Szymanski, a resident of Gdansk, who was arrested in October. It has transpired that he was a member of a criminal gang which smuggled equipment from Sweden to Poland for the purposes of terrorist activity. It was financed by Western subversion centers.

During the investigation the accused testified that he was a courier between representatives of the former trade union Solidarity now in the West and A. Kolodziej and K. Morawiecki, underground extremists from the so-called "fighting Solidarity"; the latter was recently arrested in Wroclaw. They were to receive a container with a complete set of equipment for terrorist activity which had been smuggled from to Poland from Sweden. The plan was to use the equipment to create confusion in the Polish coastal region.

Polish Cultural Scene in 1980s Examined

PM121001 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Sovetskaya Kultura* in Russian carries a two-part Warsaw-Moscow-dated lined dispatch under the rubric "Journalist's Notepad" by their own special correspondent Vitaliy Ganyushkin: The first article, entitled "The Choice of the Heart Is Socialism," appears in the 17 October 1987 issue; the second, entitled "Speaking... Among Ourselves as Brothers," appears in the 24 October issue.

In the first article the author deals with Polish artistic life in the eighties, cataloguing its debit and credit side, with the founding of new creative unions 3 years ago being, in his view, a very significant factor in improving a situation characterized by "artistic counterrevolution." He emphasizes the role played by party forces in this process, and cites figures to illustrate the reemergence of communist influence within the Warsaw writers' organization. There follow short exchanges with various figures from Polish cultural life.

The second article reads in full:

"The disorder in the artistic spheres that had to be overcome following the crisis was highly colorful. Is it really possible to combine on a single canvas a whole palette of incompatible postulates, ranging from proposals to make a commitment to the method of socialist realism mandatory in the rules of the creative union to the demand for legal enshrinement of the practice of coordinating the state's social orders with the church

authorities or noninterference by the state in publishing policy? And yet these were mere side issues, as there were, after all, direct encroachments on the helm of power...

"The strategy of struggle and accord chosen by the party back at that stage was, as time has confirmed, an optimal variant of the evacuation of Polish culture itself from the zone posing an immediate threat to its disintegration. Whom the struggle was aimed against and what it was for and against is clear. And accord? With those who wholly or at least partially share the leadership's present course of establishing national accord on socialist bases. But this—and it had already been stressed in meetings with friends of various levels during my last trip—is not agreement 'between everyone on everything.' It is agreement on behalf of a socialist Poland and nothing else. Antistate elements clearly are not part of this—with them dialogue is of a special kind.

"Our interlocutors now stress that until recently the strategy of struggle and accord was understood in an overutilitarian way by many, as merely a way of overcoming the crisis. However, life itself has given the struggle a social inevitability which dictated, in particular, crucial legislative measures democratizing all spheres of our country's life. They are becoming a really fertile soil for the declared strategy: We do not ask people where they come from but what they are bringing with them.

"And here by way of a conclusion drawn from these realities I pose the following question. A question for me, you, and, if they will not take it amiss, our Polish comrades in arms. Could not such a very reasonable strategy, a strategy organic to the system, not have been generated and established much earlier with, consequently, not so high a price to pay? Again, in the hope of furthering understanding and as my own conviction, I would say that yes it could have been, and what is more should have been, because the crisis itself, and particularly the crisis in the spiritual spheres, was generated principally by the lack of such a strategy or, more accurately, by the lack of any strategy at all, if one is talking about the then leadership of the country. After all, relations, say, with that artistic intelligentsia, that powerful and double-edged instrument of social fermentation, developed at that time in a, to put it bluntly, unattractive way. One major party worker in the present mold has described these relations as the replacement of genuine ideological struggle in this milieu by mere flirting with the artistic intelligentsia. That is to say, advances were made to it and attempts were made to restrain it within reasonable limits, to give it leeway within reasonable limits, and by outward maneuvering to smooth out areas of sharp contradictions and sometimes even confrontation which had come to a head as early as then. However, there was not on the whole any serious investigation at all of all these extra economic sentiments. This posture of patronage was characteristic not only of the leadership's attitude to the artistic intelligentsia but to ideology and the spiritual spheres of life as a whole.

"Wherever this very strategy is absent, there gradually begins to operate what sociologists call social pressure. It is generated, after all, within a system where there is not only a shortage of sausages and apartments but also the rule of the stamp in deciding the fate of specific works and their authors, abnormal relations between artist and administrator, and a general situation whereby the mass viewer has the 'wrong cinema' and the 'wrong music' imposed on him, when people simply have no way of escaping from the interminable boredom of existence and there is not even anywhere to read the little book that everyone is 'talking' about.

"This social pressure is not, at least in our conditions, mechanical or a goal in itself. It always seeks to squeeze something out of the surrounding reality and establish something in its stead. The political wisdom of a system, and of a socialist system doubly so, surely resides in the ability to detect the signs of such pressure in time, to pay heed to them and investigate them carefully, to separate the wheat from the chaff, and to make an appropriate response for the common good rather than silencing or even less 'suppressing' them.

"But no. The first reaction to the slightest social disagreements (and all of us brothers in socialism are advancing along unknown paths, and how can they be otherwise here!) is to shout 'extremists' and 'hooligan elements'... And only later, when the crisis has passed and passions cooled, does it turn out that we were dealing with justified and well-founded dissatisfaction on the part of the working class, dissatisfaction which the real extremists sought to exploit for their own interests from the very outset. Some people should, after all, also have perceived this justified dissatisfaction 'from the very outset' and found ways and means of relieving this dissatisfaction to the benefit of the working class and the whole of society rather than handing it over to extreme and irresponsible elements. Yet such collective reason was not to be found then because the practice of 'pretense' rather than realistic assessment of contradictions that are natural on the whole for any society prevailed in Poland. As a result the dissatisfaction assumed distorted forms and the measures to overcome that dissatisfaction then assumed extreme forms themselves.

"The upshot was that a kind of 'linkup' took place at the Rondo, the principal road junction in the center of Warsaw. Extremists from 'Solidarity' provoked a demonstration by transport workers in an attempt to bring traffic to a halt. The 'sound accompaniment' for the drama was provided by certain well-known artists and young vocal and instrumental groups. The 'festivities' were halted by the intervention of the organs of public order...

"This is only an external episode. There were on the whole quite a few representatives of the artistic intelligentsia involved in the chaos, some through conscious intent on their part, others through their own foolishness.

"Were there attempts to articulate publicly the dissatisfaction at the state of affairs in the country that had grown in virtually all strata of society? Of course there were, repeated attempts, but they did not find the appropriate response — the leadership of the time very much wanted everything there to appear to be 'w poradku' (in order). Albin Siwak, for example, a third-generation worker, who is now a member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and one of today's most popular political figures in Poland, showed true worker and proletarian wisdom in the most difficult situations of the crisis and clashed with Gierek himself on this ground. At a session of the Central Council of Trade Unions in June 1980 he addressed a direct appeal to the country's leadership to summon up its courage, to go to the working class, look it in the eye, and try to understand what was worrying it. Otherwise an explosion would take place—Poland had become a powder keg with a burning fuse. Gierek's answer was: 'Siwak, you've always exaggerated for as long as I've known you. Something could explode in your pocket but not in the country.' This was amusing. But proved a poor prophecy...

"And yet much of what is now being enshrined in law and being backed up by considerable state resources invested in those very same spheres of culture was even then a healthy voice in the discordant chorus of that time. You only had to want to hear, but people did not want to.

"As much has been done in fraternal Poland in recent years to develop and improve democracy and its real institutions as was perhaps done in decades in the past. Here democratization, including democratization in the spiritual sphere of the life of society, has not simply come of age. It has learned from and been fashioned by bitter experience. It has paid the considerable price of losing many talented people who have withdrawn within themselves, to God, or simply to nowhere, along with the destruction of many of society's structures and spiritual spheres. But all this experience, even if it is bitter and in no way to be permitted in the future, is experience nevertheless, the experience of a fraternal country and people on their difficult path to our common goal. If in science it is customary to assume that an adverse result from research is still a result, then here too, in big politics, in the politics of our relations, this principle, I hold, is fully applicable. The negative experience of all fraternal countries, experience that is strictly unacceptable for the whole socialist experiment of mankind, is nevertheless our common possession which we must without fail learn to use for the benefit of future cooperation. But we have not yet learned to do so. We have not learned to look one another in the eye and refrain from turning a blind eye whenever and wherever we see something that is unpleasant and that does not fit the normal framework.

"All our relations have hitherto developed exclusively through the agency of positive emotions. These are not the vital, natural relations of friends, neighbors, and

comrades in arms but instead a kind of established ritual of mutual admiration. I can remember my own, albeit not so extensive, experience as a newspaper correspondent in Poland. When I first tried to depict the real situation in Polish agriculture and later to analyze the state of the Polish stage or the mechanisms of the growth of crisis phenomena in particular spheres of life in Polish society our embassy people and, later, even more authoritative bodies scratched their heads.

"Nevertheless, if you talk about Polish culture, the numerous guests from those spheres could not fail to see how over the years the confused trend in art and literature was sinking into the quagmire and the life of the creative unions was decaying and becoming bureaucratized, while the artistic ideas of many representatives of artistic creativity were being increasingly replaced by commercial enterprise. This was also seen by Poles themselves, by visiting friends, and by us—their 'old friends.' But ritual...

"Every attempt to examine negative processes in some way or at least delineate them met with eyebrows raised in astonishment: Are you in your right mind? How will our friends take it? How will it be interpreted 'over there'? How will it be taken here, at home? Impossible!

"But why so? Does not talking about all this mean it somehow does not exist. Even if millions of Western and indeed our own tourists can see it and Western radio stations speak about it on our behalf in their own fashion, the important thing for us is to 'remain pure.' Like the peasant woman who kept her wedding dress throughout her life...

"Yes, our socialist community is a complex organ. Moreover every participant in it has its own unique organism. One is bound to be pleased by the signs of realistic new thinking which have shown themselves and have continued to show themselves in recent years here too. The quite 'extensive coverage' that has appeared on the screens in our friendly countries from the standpoint of objective reporting about each other is particularly gratifying. A process of creative familiarization with each other is under way again, via all the old as well as new channels. For example, the universal general guideline of extensively developing direct ties to further business cooperation among labor and other collectives of fraternal countries, also influences cultural exchange to the full extent. The Moscow State Conservatory and the music academies in Warsaw and Poznan, the Lenin Library in Moscow and the National Library in Warsaw, the Academy of Arts in the Georgian capital and the Fine Arts College in Lodz, the oblast Museum of Fine Arts in Arkhangelsk and the district Museum in Torun, the Puppet Theatre in Bratsk and a similar collective in Slupsk—there are already dozens of such creative pairings, and their number grows daily. Now they are meeting not to stay with one another for a while but to learn something, to put on shows together or organize an

exhibition, exchange soloists, or hold a roundtable discussion, although the table may have sharp corners on occasions, as was the case in our editorial office this summer. They meet to advance our common culture, the culture of socialism.

"Learning from each other's achievements, mistakes, and blunders—this is the quintessence of relations within a good, harmonious family!"

West Europe

More on Soviet Delegations' Visit to Britain

Marchuk Meets With Baker

PM191209 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 87
First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet Scientists' Tour"]

[Text] London, 13 Nov—The delegation of Soviet scientists headed by Academician G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is continuing its visit. The delegation visited scientific research centers in Cambridge and Oxford and had lengthy and fruitful conversations with leading British scientists on fundamental avenues of the development of modern science.

G.I. Marchuk called on Kenneth Baker, British secretary of state for education and science, and had a conversation with him. An exchange of opinions took place on the prospects for scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Royal Society, which could contribute to the more efficient exchange of research data in the sphere of fundamental sciences.

Royal Society President G. Porter held a reception in honor of the Soviet delegation. The reception was attended by British Prime Minister M. Thatcher and leading British scientists. M. Thatcher had detailed conversations with members of the Soviet delegation.

Tolstykh Delegation Ends Visit

LD190018 Moscow TASS in English 2308 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] London November 19 TASS—TASS correspondent Yuri Levchenko reports:

The Soviet delegation led by Boris Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, ended its visit to Britain. The delegation, which arrived here on the invitation of the British Government, took part in a scientific and technical symposium of representatives of the USSR, Britain and the United States on the subject of the latest technology, industrial

reorganization and economic interdependence. The forum passed in a businesslike atmosphere and largely promoted better mutual understanding of the parties' positions.

Delegation head Boris Tolstykh met Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe, Secretary of State for Energy Cecil Parkinson, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry Lord Young, and the chief adviser of the British Government on science John Feirklaf. During the meetings, the sides examined the state of scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries and specific measures to extend and intensify it.

The delegation made a tour of the country during which it visited British industrial firms, plants and held talks with their senior officials on organizing closer Soviet-British businesslike cooperation, including the setting up of mixed enterprises.

On Wednesday, the "Britain-USSR" Society gave a reception in honour of the Soviet delegation. Members of Parliament, representatives of the business and scientific communities were present at the reception. Bernard Weatherhill, speaker of the House of Commons, said that extension of contacts between the two countries' governments' parliaments, scientific and businesslike was of inestimable importance to improving mutual understanding. The more we learn about each other, the clearer we understand that any and all problems between us can be solved at the negotiating table, he said. And the realization of this is the pledge of a more tranquil and safer future.

Irish CP Leader Congratulated on Birthday

PM181621 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 87
Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee 70th birthday greetings to Michael O'Riordan, chairman of the Communist Party of Ireland]

[Text] To Comrade Michael O'Riordan, chairman of the Communist Party of Ireland

Dear Comrade O'Riordan!

We cordially congratulate you, a prominent figure in the Irish and international communist movement and a great and sincere friend of our party, on your glorious 70th birthday and wish you good health and new successes in your noble struggle for the cause of the Irish proletariat and for the national interests of the Irish people.

From your early years, you have stood in the front ranks of fighters against imperialism and reaction. You fought with weapon in hand against fascism in Spain, and you

firmly championed the ideas of Marxism-Leninism under difficult conditions of the postwar "cold war" and the persecution of Communists in your country.

Your name is well known not only in Ireland but also in the broadest circles of the world communist movement, whose unity and cohesion you tirelessly advocate at all international and national forums.

We wish you, dear Comrade O'Riordan, long years of life and new creative strength to realize the lofty goals that you set yourself.

CPSU Central Committee

Norwegian 'Distrust' of Murmansk Speech Hit

PM181657 Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian
11 Nov 87 p 5

[Soviet editor Ilya Baranikas "Searchlight" article: "We Must Trust Each Other"—italicized words as published in original]

[Text] There are still many people in the West who believe in the Colt as a peacemaker. In response to Moscow's appeals and unilateral measures against nuclear arms, it is possible to hear in the West voices which praise these weapons' role as peacekeepers in the postwar period.

For 18 months, the Soviet Union observed a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests. It has made major concessions on medium-range nuclear arms limitations, and in doing so has made an important contribution to the agreement in principle that has been reached with the United States. This agreement is now close to being confirmed in the signing of a treaty. There is even the prospect now that this treaty will be followed by mutual 50% reductions in Soviet and U.S. strategic nuclear arms. The only thing lacking today before a Soviet-U.S. agreement on strategic arms can be concluded is agreement on adhering to the ABM treaty for a further 10 years. The Soviet Union's attitude is founded on the notion that the world will become more secure with every reduction in missiles and every nuclear test that is not carried out.

In the West many people take a different view of nuclear arms in the event of an "enemy attack using conventional forces." It is wrongly claimed that the Soviet Union has a conventional superiority. But there has been no reaction to the Soviet Union's call for cuts in these weapons—which could be asymmetrical, if necessary. The West views the East as if through a wall—not a security wall like the Berlin Wall, but a much more impenetrable wall of distrust and prejudice.

I would like to point out a new and typical example of this: the official Norwegian attitude to the Soviet Union's latest initiative in respect to the Nordic area

(which was contained in Gorbachev's speech in Murmansk on 1 October this year). In line with the traditional wish of this region's inhabitants to maintain the lowest possible level of tension, the Soviet Union proposed limitations on military activity in the north Atlantic and extension of confidence-building measures to this region also, to be extended later to embrace the whole of the Arctic, including the section of it belonging to the Soviet Union. In response to the Soviet proposals, the Norwegian Government (in the proposed budget for the Norwegian Defense Ministry) has moved in completely the opposite direction—it is giving its backing to NATO "forward operations in the northern sea areas" (that is, close to the Soviet Union's shores). Former Norwegian Prime Minister Kare Willoch has declared in a speech in Oslo that "what guarantees small states peace and freedom when they have a large, totalitarian neighbor is not guarantees of respect, but strong defenses and a credible alliance with strong friends."

So what is this? A lack of understanding of the Soviet Union's intentions, or a maniacal desire for conflict? No, in the present case it is more a question of suspicion and distrust. People are frightened of the Soviet Union because it is both a neighbor and "big." People do not trust it because it is "totalitarian," in other words, because Soviet society is organized differently from Norwegian society, for example. It is pointed out that occasionally in the past "the Russian bear" has "laid its paw" on some country or other. When Swedish Moderate Coalition Party leader Carl Bildt formulates the base for a unified approach to the socialist world—at the request of the conservatives' international—he therefore recommends that the policy of nuclear deterrence be continued.

But there are two sides to every coin. Let us try to look at what would happen if the Soviet Union were also to follow the clichéd thinking of NATO. Then it would have to count all the Nordic countries as aggressive, because they belong to the "empire of capital" (something that we could use as a label). From orthodox positions we could say that "imperialism does not flinch from anything in its striving for world dominance." We could recall relations between Soviet Russia and the capitalist world, which began in 1918 with 14 capitalist countries attacking us in a war of intervention. We could point to examples from history of real—and not just alleged—totalitarian regimes, such as the fascist dictatorships in Germany, Italy, Hungary, Romania, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Paraguay, Chile, and other countries. We could ask: How after all this can we trust a capitalist country?

But today we have to trust each other, whether we like it or not. In a world in which there are 50,000 nuclear warheads, nothing else is possible. Both sides must admit observers from the other unsympathetic half of the world and create nuclear-free zones with "paper guarantees,"

and we ourselves must make these guarantees tools that actually work. We must play the role of unarmed peacemakers without any nuclear "Colts."

It has not been an easy path which the Soviet Union has followed to reach its current realization that new political thinking is needed. Now it is calling on other countries—including the Nordic countries—to do the same.

Genscher Cited on Arms Curb Prospects

PM191149 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
19 Nov 87 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Genscher Speech"]

[Text] Bonn, 18 Nov—The planned conclusion of a Soviet-U.S. agreement to eliminate medium-range and operational-tactical missiles along with the possible breakthrough in other disarmament spheres are the result of the positive changes in East-West relations, FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher stated here. He noted that definite progress has been achieved between the two great powers on ways of reaching agreement on 50% reductions in strategic nuclear arsenals. Certain progress, Genscher believes, has also been seen on the question of conventional arms and armed forces reductions.

Worldwide elimination of chemical weapons is also an important goal, the leader of the FRG's foreign policy department stressed. In his opinion, an agreement on the universal and total prohibition of these types of weapons could be reached in the foreseeable future. The minister made a positive assessment of the Soviet Union's position on the question of monitoring the observance of disarmament agreements, including on-site inspection [inspektsiya na mestakh].

Release of Arrested Turkish Communists Demanded

LD181846 Moscow TASS in English 1644 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Ankara November 18 TASS—Haydar Kutlu, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey, and Nihat Sargin, secretary general of the Workers' Party of Turkey, are kept at the security department in Ankara. The newspaper *Gumhuriyet* reported that their "case" was also investigated there, in the so-called "mirror room". A spokesman for the State Security Court said that police investigation might take one and, if need be, two weeks. The *Anatolian News Agency* quoted the prosecutor of the State Security Court N. Demirel as saying that the leaders of the United Communist Party of Turkey were charged with heading illegal organisations aiming to overthrow the existing system.

Paris November 18 TASS—A group of Communists and deputies of the European parliament have drafted a resolution in connection with the arrest of the leaders of the united Communist Party of Turkey. According to the

newspaper *L'Humanite*, they demanded the immediate release of Haydar Kutlu and Nihat Sargin and guarantees for their further political activity in the country to promote the process of democratisation in Turkey.

Nicosia November 18 TASS—Ezedias Papaioannou, general secretary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), has demanded the immediate release of the general secretary of the Communist Party of Turkey, Haydar Kutlu, and the general secretary of the Workers' Party of Turkey, Nihat Sargin. Akel, it is stressed in the statement, expresses solidarity with the Turkish democratic forces which demand the legalization of the United Communist Party of Turkey.

European Clerics 'Anti-Communist Hysteria' Hit

LD182200 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1400 GMT on 17 November broadcasts a 27-minute program entitled "Religion and Politics: Religion? No!—Politics!" presented by Dr of Philosophical Sciences Anatoliy Vasilyevich Belov.

Belov begins the program from Moscow's Sheremetyevo International Airport, showing tourists and other travelers passing through passport control and customs. The great majority of them, he says, genuinely desire to get to know the Soviet Union better. He continues: "But there are some who come with quite different aims: It is about them that we want to talk today. We want today to talk about ideological sabotage committed by clerical centers, about the ideological sabotage committed under the guise of religion."

Belov interviews two customs officers at the airport. Senior customs inspector (Vladimir Nikolayevich Koldayev) says that according to the current regulations, citizens crossing the border are permitted to take religious literature for their own use, "but cases do occur of religious-propaganda literature being brought in which reflects our reality in a light somewhat different from what it actually is, and in these cases all sorts of tricks and concealments are used to get large quantities of such literature through." He says that literature is concealed in clothing, in double suitcases and the fact that attempts are made to conceal the material indicates that the culprits are aware it is illegal. (Sergey Nikolayevich Yaroshev), seated next to an airport X-ray machine, recalls some instances of ideological subversion: "a woman employed by one of the branches of an organization named the Slavonic Mission brought in, using double-bottomed suitcases, 400 copies of religious material of a propaganda nature, with anti-Soviet and tendentious elements in it. In December, an FRG citizen brought in 500 copies of similar literature in his suitcase under his clothes, among his personal things." (Yaroshev) says the literature was, of course, confiscated. "So," Belov says, "such cases do indeed occur, and this is evidence of the fact that day and night, there is

evidently no let-up in the ideological subversion being carried out today as part of the psychological struggle that imperialist reaction has unleashed against the world of socialism."

Belov shows on screen, the "output of the clerical anti-communist centers which is illegally brought into the Soviet Union": *Le Messenger*, *Vestnik Russkogo Khristianskogo Dvizheniya*, Bibles, publications in Russian using the prerevolutionary alphabet, and in German. He states: "These publications have diverse titles, but almost every one of them contains material which slanderously portrays the situation of religion and the church in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, material describing persecution of believers for their religious convictions which allegedly occurs in our country, and describing the forcible atheization allegedly carried out in our country. What is the aim of all this? The aim is not a religious one: The aim is clearly political. The aim is to inculcate religious feelings, to back up religious feelings, and to channel religious feelings into anti-socialism."

"There are many dozens of institutes, missions, fraternities existing in bourgeois countries, which are today drawing up and giving birth to plans for active struggle against communist ideology and for active struggle against socialism. In Great Britain, there is Keston College, which is headed by the Anglican pastor Michael Bourdeaux, an inveterate anti-Soviet, an inveterate anti-communist—he does not, in fact, conceal his positions." Here the video shows newspaper clipping showing Reverend Michael Bourdeaux, "Spokesman for Persecuted Christians in the USSR," over London street scenes.

Belov continues: "When this institute opened, its stated intention was that the institute was being opened to promote better mutual understanding between the socialist and non-socialist world. In actual fact, however, it is promoting not mutual understanding but rather schism between people. It promotes destruction of that mutual understanding, because it is in effect engaged in gathering slanderous information and processing this information. It supplies this information to various radio centers, television centers, the press and periodicals in Western countries, having its sphere of influence in the countries of the English-speaking world, as the heads of the institute say. Western reactionary circles have a high opinion of the institute: It is no accident that Michael Bourdeaux, the institute's director, was awarded the Templeton prize which was instituted in 1972 by the Presbyterian John Templeton for progress in religion. But practice has demonstrated that the prize has mainly been conferred not for religious activity but for political activity. Thus, for instance, Keston College, headed by Michael Bourdeaux, supports religious extremists in our country, extremist groupings which operate not from religious positions, but from political positions, which demand unrestricted—in fact, make for themselves—freedom of action, and which do not wish to take account of the laws of our country. But Keston

College turns everything on its head, trying to portray this as religious activity. But the fact that it is cut short—for it contravenes the laws of our country—is, so to speak, classed as suppression of religion, persecution of religion in our country, persecution because of people's convictions."

The video shows more copies of *Vestnik, Pravoslavnyaya Rus* and copies of publications bearing titles such as "Life With God", "Russian Rebirth" in Russian.

Belov states that there are dozens of clerical anti-communist centers whipping up anti-communist hysteria in the United States, such as Underground Evangelism, Jesus to the Communist World. Of course, "one should not fail to mention the white emigre organization, the monarchist grouping which calls itself the Russian Church (Abroad) [russkaya zarubezhnaya tserkov]. This grouping was set up in 1921 by a reactionary section of the church emigres. The fundamental thought, the fundamental idea running through all the activities of the so-called Russian Church (Abroad) is by no means religious, but political—restoration of the monarchist order in Russia." Belov states that the nature of their ideas can be seen at once from the fact that Emperor Nicholas II has been declared a saint, the same Nicholas II who was nicknamed bloody by the people. He continues: "On the eve of the 1000th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity in Russia, this grouping has set in train a great deal of activity—it has started to issue a journal, *Russkoye Vozrozhdeniye*, and preparations are under way for widespread celebrations to mark this church jubilee, celebrations on U.S. soil." Belov shows viewers a copy of *Russkoye Vozrozhdeniye*, turning to the page where sponsors are listed; sponsors include the American Cadet Alliance, the League of Officers of the (Russian Expeditionary Corps), the (League of Supporters of the Memory of Emporor Nicholas II), the (Fund of the Martyr Tsar)—all, Belov says, political organizations, not religious ones, part of "the monarchist grouping which describes itself as the Russian Church (Abroad)."

Belov then states: "The Institute of Belief in the Second World [Institut der Glaube in der Zweiten Welt], which is in Switzerland, also camouflages its activity. It declares itself to be an information center, a research center. Anyway, you can find out about it for yourself, thanks to television which gives you this opportunity. Thanks to the director of the Institute of Belief in the Second World, at the same time the editor of the periodical of the same name, (Yevgeniy Alfredovich Voss), who agreed to receive a State Television and Radio correspondent and give him an interview." The video shows editions of the magazine *GW2*.

Correspondent Vladimir Dmitriyev presents Father Yevgeniy, thanking him for making the visit possible and explaining that this is the first time Soviet journalists have been to the institute. Father Yevgeniy explains

that the work of the institute involves collecting information about the position of believers in the socialist world, including the Soviet Union. This information is published in the monthly journal and in books. Dmitriyev adds: "I cannot claim to have any profound knowledge of your output in the journal, but nevertheless, from what I have managed to read, what I have come across by chance, I would not describe your activities as scientific. In my opinion, there are aspects which are profoundly subjective in nature. There are a very large number of juggled facts in respect to the situation of believers in the Soviet Union, and so on." Father Yevgeniy, speaking in Russian, replies that "the information is subjective in so far as it touches on believers: Belief is a subjective act for man. A non-believer may regard such information with a certain degree of incomprehension." The video then continues:

[Dmitriyev] "Your selection of information, it seems to me, is purely...[Dmitriyev changes thought] frequently, to put it mildly, too tendentious. What are mentioned are cases of oppression of people in the Soviet Union for their religious convictions—this is not only condemned in our country, but it is forbidden by the Constitution. We have freedom of conscience in the Soviet Union. In your publications, you assert the contrary.

[Father Yevgeniy] "If you have gained that impression, then I could reply like this: Our information is a function of the lack of glasnost in the sphere of religion and the church in the Soviet Union, and partly in other socialist countries. Where there is a church press in the countries about which we publish materials, where the churches have access to radio stations and where they are given broadcasting time, there the problem is presented in quite a different form. We give publicity to those people who at home, in their own country, have no access to the press.

[Dmitriyev] "Who, in particular, are you defending, so to speak, in the Soviet Union, then? I use the word "defend" in inverted commas. Whom do you take under your protection?

[Father Yevgeniy] "Defend? Well, we are simply defending all believers in all churches, wherever we notice that they have insufficient freedom for their lives.

[Dmitriyev] "But the main orientation, all the same, of your journal, for example, is nevertheless an anti-communist one?

[Father Yevgeniy] "I would not say that it was anti-communist. We simply demand free information. If there was in the socialist countries the same freedom of information, the same glasnost, for religious topics, as there is, for example in the West, in Western Europe, then our task would be different.

[Dmitriyev] "Hmm! Well, do you consider that there is no freedom of conscience in the Soviet Union? Your authors sometimes assert that in your journal, saying there is oppression and so on. I think your journal and your activities are anti-communist and anti-Soviet in nature, I would say.

[Father Yevgeniy] "There are two interpretations of the term freedom of conscience. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, freedom of conscience is realized where man is freed of religion, where he is freed of belonging to a church, freed of the activity of priests. If one regards the term freedom of conscience from the point of view of the believer, then it looks different: The believer expects the state to grant him sufficient freedom not only to go to church and take part in church services, but also to teach his religious faith to his children, publish books on religion and religious faith, starting with the Bible and prayer books and similar literature essential for the religious life, both for the individual and the church."

Belov, back in the studio then breaks in here. "because Father Yevgeniy has got a few things confused here, to put it mildly." Belov states that the USSR Constitution, Article 52, states that freedom of conscience is understood as the right of every citizen to confess any religion, or none, and furthermore, Father Yevgeniy appears to be unaware that religious publishing houses publish material for the needs of the churches in the USSR, instances of which Belov enumerates. As self-professed head of an institution dealing with information, Father Yevgeniy, Belov notes, should be sure of his facts.

Dmitriyev continues the interview, pointing to an article on the desk at which he and Father Yevgeniy are sitting and saying that there is an article here on the table about glasnost in the Soviet Union. He asks how Father Yevgeniy regards the big changes taking place in the Soviet Union and whether these new, revolutionary transformations will find a place on the pages of Father Yevgeniy's press organ, his journal? Dmitriyev says that he has just seen there an article with a photograph of Comrade Gorbachev—could Father Yevgeniy perhaps answer that question?

Father Yevgeniy states: "As yet these transformations have not found a place, because this phenomenon is too new. We have been observing it, but in the near future we shall publish something on it, and we shall be citing the Soviet press, so as to demonstrate how glasnost is expressed."

Summing up, Belov notes that there has been time to mention only a few of the anti-communist and hostile acts of the clerical anti-communists: "But I think that what we have been talking about today, and what we have seen today, gives some impression of those hostile actions which are carried out by militant anti-communists, in league with bellicose clerics."

Latin America & Caribbean

Ortega Criticizes U.S. 'Hostile Policy'

LD171154 Moscow TASS in English 0831 GMT 17 Nov 87

[Text] Mexico November 17 TASS—The peoples of Central America are fully resolved to work for peace and get the Guatemala accords reached by the presidents of the region's five countries fulfilled. Sooner or later the USA will have to take these strivings into account and agree to talks with Nicaragua, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said on Monday at a press conference in Mexico, where he made a stop on his way home from the Organisation of American States meeting in the USA.

Until now the U.S. Administration lacked the political will to promote the peaceful settlement of the situation in the Central American region, Daniel Ortega noted. The refusal by President Reagan to meet and discuss the problems on the agenda provides further proof. The USA is the focus of hostile policy against the Sandinista republic, the president continued. Therefore any talks of the Nicaraguan Government with contras must be held, as the Guatemala agreements envisage, in the capital of the United States and not in a Central American country.

Daniel Ortega refuted the American Government's allegations that the Nicaraguan accords did not fulfill its obligation under the Guatemala accords. Such allegations, the Nicaraguan president said, cannot be viewed as serious. They are a continuation of the hostile attacks. A special international commission, consisting of representatives of the Contadora Group, Support Group and five central American states, and secretaries-general of the U.N. and OAS, is reviewing the course of fulfilment of the agreements. No one has the moral right to groundlessly accuse Nicaragua of not fulfilling its part of obligations.

If the ceasefire, proposed by the Nicaraguan Government, was in force now and a dialogue with contras had started, Daniel Ortega said, the opposition would have received all guarantees of involvement in the country's political life, including the National Assembly.

The Nicaraguan leader held a press conference after the first unofficial meeting with President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico. Mexico, Daniel Ortega said, is firmly for establishing peace in Central America. He also said that the question of deliveries of Mexican oil to Nicaragua was under discussion.

National Reconciliation Proposed

LD181202 Moscow TASS in English 0945 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Text] Managua November 18 TASS—The Nicaraguan Government has proposed to the opposition parties to speed up the process of national reconciliation as part of the measures aimed at implementing the Guatemalan agreements. The republic's leadership suggested at Tuesday's round of political talks that measures be implemented to further democratisation of the society, carry

out the reform of the electoral system, review the law on political parties and discuss wider participation of parties, not represented in the parliament, in the political life. A document released here notes that the dialogue of the government with the political opposition pursues the aim of the speediest attainment of national unity and wider popular participation in the solution of political questions on the basis of strict observance of the principles of democracy and legality. Note is taken of the government's resolve to fight for peace in Nicaragua and get the Guatemala agreements, aimed at settling the situation in the region, implemented. One of the more important points of the proposals is the recognition by the government of the right to create new political organizations and parties. At the same time, the document again stresses that the government's political dialogue is possible only with political parties, not armed opposition.

Chairman of the National Assembly Carlos Nunez told a press conference here that Nicaragua's constitution banned the creation of parties which sought to revive the Somoza or a similar regime in the country. Therefore, if the contras accept the government proposals on a ceasefire they can lay down arms, take advantage of the amnesty and form their own political organisation or join the existing parties until the national dialogue is completed, Carlos Nunez said.

Parliamentarians To Visit Latin America

LD181454 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—A group of USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) deputies led by Georgiy Tarazevich, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, left Moscow today.

The parliamentarians will visit Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Venezuela.

Delegation Leaves for Uruguayan Party Congress

PM181131 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 87
First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Taking Part in Work of Congress"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by M. Gabdulin, chief editor of the CPSU Central Committee journal *Agitator*, has left for Montevideo to take part in the Socialist Party of Uruguay congress at the invitation of the party's leadership.

Briefs

Media Protocol Signed

In Moscow today, working protocols on exchanges in the fields of television and radio broadcasting for 1988-89 were signed between the USSR Gosteleradio and Nicaragua's Sandinist Television System and People's Broadcasting Corporation. Further development of exchange of television and radio material on major events in the USSR and Nicaragua, the provision of mutual assistance in the production of programs on the life of the peoples of the two countries, and television and radio bridges are envisaged. The documents were signed by the chairman of the USSR Gosteleradio, Aksenov, the director general of the Sandinist Television System, Garcia, and the director general of Nicaragua's People's Broadcasting Corporation, (?Paralles). [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 13 Nov 87 LD]

East German Leaders Greet Soviet Counterparts
PM121403 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 87
Second Edition p 5

To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Dear Comrades,

On the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution we convey to you, the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Soviet people, cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings from the SED Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the GDR.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was a triumphant victory of the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. It showed the peoples on our planet the prospect of their social and national liberation.

Since the October 1917 days, the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have achieved truly heroic deeds, achieving the rise of the USSR to a socialist world power. The progress of your country on the paths of socialism, in the realization of the important resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, is being followed in the GDR with great interest and profound sympathy.

From the hour of its birth the Soviet state, in fulfilling the Leninist legacy, has been fighting untiringly for a peaceful world. Today the constructive peace program of the Soviet Union is pointing the way to prevention of a nuclear inferno and the survival of human civilization. The bold and responsible action by the leadership of the USSR and its far-reaching proposals have smoothed the way for reaching an accord with the United States to conclude a treaty on global elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles. Its realization would mean the start of the process of actual disarmament.

It fills us with joy and satisfaction that the inviolable militant bond of our parties, states, and peoples, which we consider to be one of our most treasured achievements, is growing stronger and stronger. In all areas of social life we purposefully build, commensurate with the high demands of our time, fraternal cooperation on the basis of important long-term agreements. Thus we create at the same time the main preconditions for solving the tasks in the further shaping of the advanced socialist society in the GDR.

By the side of the USSR and the other allies in the Warsaw Pact, our state concentrates all its strength on making an active, creative contribution to resolving the large-scale tasks which the socialist fraternal countries have set themselves in their coordinated foreign policy.

The 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is a portentous occasion to wish wholeheartedly you, dear comrades, and all workers of your country, much success in the perfecting of socialism and in the struggle for the safeguarding of a secure peace.

[signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers

Gromyko Speaks at 9 Nov Award Ceremony
PM181639 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 87
Morning Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "Awards to Fighters for Peace and Democracy"]

[Text] On 9 November in the Kremlin A.A. Gromyko presented Soviet state awards to two foreign figures who are in Moscow in connection with the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of Great October.

The Order of Friendship of the Peoples was conferred on Gilberto Vieira, secretary general of the Colombian Communist Party Central Committee, for his services in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress and his contribution to strengthening friendship between the Soviet and Colombian peoples, and in connection with his 75th birthday.

The Order of Friendship of the Peoples was also conferred on Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), for his services in the struggle for national liberation, peace, and democracy and his contribution to development of friendship between the peoples of southern Africa and the Soviet Union, and in connection with his 70th birthday.

The following took part in the award ceremony:

P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Alfred Nzo, general secretary of the ANC; Alonso Ojeda, secretary general of the Communist Party of Venezuela; Ruben Dario Sousa, secretary general of the People's Party of Panama Central Committee; Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party and member of the ANC National Executive Committee; Daniel Tlume, national chairman of the South African Communist Party and member of the ANC National Executive Committee.

Giving a speech, A.A. Gromyko said:

Dear Comrades!

Our esteemed foreign guests!

Here in the Kremlin today, we honor two major figures in the national liberation movement. One is from Latin America, the other from Africa. One represents fighters for peace and democracy from the vast Latin American continent, whose states are groaning under the oppression of imperialist financial enslavement. The other represents fighters for national liberation from an area of unbridled reaction, apartheid, and racism.

We confer the Order of Friendship of the Peoples on Comrade Gilberto Vieira, secretary general of the Colombian Communist Party Central Committee, for his services in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress and his contribution to strengthening friendship between the Soviet and Colombian peoples.

You, Comrade Vieira, are one of the founders of the Colombian Communist Party. Since your youth, you have firmly linked your destiny with the struggle for the ideals of freedom and socialism.

Now, Comrade Vieira, you enjoy wide popularity on your continent. Your name is also well known within the international communist movement. Your entire life shows that you are a consistent internationalist and a great friend of our country.

We also confer the Order of Friendship of the Peoples on Comrade Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, for his services in the struggle for national liberation, peace, and democracy and his contribution to development of friendship between the peoples of southern Africa and the Soviet Union.

The course your life has taken, Comrade Tambo, is an example of tireless service of the peoples' interests and struggle against racism and oppression and for freedom and justice.

For 20 years you have been head of the ANC, an organization which is decisively opposed to the inhumane system of racial segregation.

All honest South Africans are now drawn to this organization: black and white, everyone, in fact, who values peace, security, and prosperity in the south of the African Continent. The struggle for South Africa's freedom in all its different forms—from diplomatic efforts to armed struggle—enjoys growing sympathy and support from the broad international public.

You are also well known in the Soviet Union as someone who has done a great deal to strengthen friendship and solidarity between our two countries' peoples.

Despite the fact that you, Comrade Vieira and Comrade Tambo, represent different continents, your lives have much in common that is typical of real fighters for the

people's cause. You have been subject to arrests, experienced the bitterness of denunciation and false accusations, and spent time in jail. But you have remained with an unblemished conscience, an ardent heart, and clear faith in a better future for mankind.

We are glad that on this festive day the award recipients have their comrades in struggle from Latin America and Africa with them here. I would like to take the opportunity to convey to all of you the sense of deep respect that the Soviet people have for fighters for peace, democracy, national liberation, and justice.

Today's award ceremony has particular significance as it is taking place during the celebration of the 70th anniversary of Great October and after the recent meeting of representatives of parties and movements.

We are confident that the events in Moscow are giving a powerful boost to the spread of new thinking and new approaches to solving current global problems and are making a powerful contribution to the great struggle for peace, disarmament, and elimination of the threat of war.

Allow me, dear Comrades Vieira and Tambo, to cordially congratulate you on your high awards on behalf of the Soviet leadership. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of our party's Central Committee, asked me to convey his sincere congratulations to you.

I wish you long life and new success in your struggle for peace, freedom, and the good of the working people. I wish you new strength and energy on your difficult journey as revolutionary fighters.

Gilberto Vieira said in his speech in reply:

It is a great honor to receive the Order of Friendship of the Peoples immediately after taking part with representatives of virtually every country in the celebrations to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which began a new era in history—the era in which mankind has set itself the aim of strengthening peace throughout the world and creating a democratic society founded on social justice.

I believe this award also applies to my comrades in struggle and to all Colombians who do everything in the name of friendship between peoples, which is a firm basis for peaceful coexistence.

At present the Colombian people are faced with serious problems of violence and a low level of socioeconomic development. They crave peace, as a condition essential to social progress. That is why they value friendship with other peoples and particularly with the great Soviet people.

Strengthening friendship between peoples is a universal, noble, and highly relevant task because, as Comrade Gorbachev remarked in his 2 November report, "despite the deeply contradictory nature of today's world and fundamental differences between the states which are part of it, it is interconnected, interdependent, and is a definite integral whole."

Thank you very much.

Oliver Tambo also gave a speech in reply:

Our visit to Moscow to take part in the celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of a historic event is evidence of the continuation and further strengthening of relations between the ANC and your great country.

Throughout the past period these relations have been characterized by constant support for our struggle from the CPSU, the Soviet Government, and all the fraternal Soviet people. This struggle is aimed at destroying the system of colonial and racial domination in our country and, therefore, liberating our people from this domination.

It is natural that our people, who are struggling for their national and social liberation, are linked to the Land of the Soviets by firm, indissoluble bonds of friendship and comradeship based on their common determination to put an end to imperialist and colonial domination. This common desire to liberate the peoples is inseparably fused with another common aim: to realize man's dream of a world free from the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

The award to me of the Order of Friendship of the Peoples, which was timed to coincide with my 70th birthday, and the order itself which I have had the honor to receive today show the spirit of deep comradeship between our peoples.

We accept this award with particular gratitude because today's ceremony coincides with a most important, historic event—celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which is taking place at a time when Soviet society is being restructured and renewed. In terms of its scale and depth, this process is indeed revolutionary.

Long live friendship between our peoples!

May our common victory on all fronts be ensured!

Thank you very much.

The speeches by A.A. Gromyko, G. Vieira, and O. Tambo were applauded.

The award ceremony was attended by Carlos Holmes Trujillo, Colombian ambassador to the USSR, Soviet officials, and foreign guests in Moscow for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

Nikolay Ryzhkov Receives GOSR Greetings

From Iranian Premier

PM181531 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 87
Morning Edition p 4

[Iranian Premier Mir Hoseyn Musavi's greetings message to N.I. Ryzhkov on October Revolution anniversary]

[Text] To His Excellency Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

I congratulate you, your excellency, and the USSR Council of Ministers on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

I hope that the bilateral cooperation between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the USSR will develop at even faster rates in the interests of the two neighboring countries.

Mir Hoseyn Musavi, prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran

From Pakistani Premier

PM181615 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 87
Morning Edition p 4

[Pakistani Premier Junejo's greetings message to N.I. Ryzhkov on October Revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Your Excellency:

The Government and the people of Pakistan echo my sincere congratulations and good wishes to Your Excellency, the government, and the peoples of the USSR on the happy occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We are profoundly aware of the importance of this event for the Soviet people and their leadership.

The Soviet people can be justly proud of their achievements in past years. I am sure that Soviet people, headed by the dynamic Soviet leadership, will continue to advance along the path of progress. We wish the people of the USSR every success in their noble endeavors.

We value highly the ties of friendship and cooperation, founded on principles of peaceful coexistence and good-neighborliness, which exist between our two countries. We note with a sense of satisfaction the new positive trends in Soviet-Pakistani bilateral relations. I am confident that they will broaden and deepen in the upcoming period in the interests of our two peoples.

I am taking the present opportunity to convey my best wishes for Your Excellency's personal prosperity and also for progress and prosperity for the people of the USSR.

Please accept, Your Excellency, these assurances of my extremely high esteem.

Mohammad Khan Junejo, prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

CPSU Delegations Return From Vienna, Brussels
PM190845 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 87
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Return Home"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by I.K. Polozkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom, returned to Moscow 17 November from Vienna, where it had taken part in the events organized by the Austrian Communist Party to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

On the same day Yu.I. Zuyev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, returned to Moscow from Brussels, where he had been taken part in the Belgian Social Christian Party congress.

Comparison of Honecker 4 Nov Moscow Speech

East Berlin *Neues Deutschland* on 5 November on page 3, under the headline: "The Role of Socialism as an Advocate of Peace is Today More Important Than Ever Before," carries the 2,500-word speech given by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at a meeting of representatives of foreign delegations in the Kremlin on 4 November. Comparison with the 4 November East Berlin ADN International Service in German version broadcast at 1305 GMT and published on pages 34-37 of the 6 November Soviet Union *Daily Report* has shown the two versions to be identical except for *Neues Deutschland* editorial subheads and the following: Page 34: Column two, paragraph six, sentence one, *Neues Deutschland* reads: "to Mikhail Gorbachev's statements at the festive event and at today's opening of this" (rewording) Page 35: Column one, paragraph three, sentence one reads: "The number and scope of problems that" (supplying additional material) Column one, paragraph three, sentence two to end of paragraph reads: "cooperate been greater. In all parts of the world the masses and the public today influence social developments much more. We at this meeting all agree that the most important issue is preventing a nuclear world war and ensuring mankind's survival. (rewording) Column one, paragraph four, last sentence reads: "on and safeguarded through political means on the basis" (supplying additional material) Column two, paragraph three, last sentence reads: "all countries stop the warmongers in

time" (changing "them" to "warmongers"). Page 36: Column one, paragraph two, sentences four to five reads: "mutually advantageous cooperation. This demonstrates changes of historic" (rewording) Column one, paragraph four, sentence two to three reads: "belongs to socialism. Because eliminating exploitation is the basic prerequisite for" (rewording) Column one, paragraph five, sentence three to four reads: "countries. Class antagonism, exploitation, and suppression continue to exist in various countries. (rewording) Column two, paragraph two, sentence one, reads: "our eyes to the current contradictions and conflicts in the world. However, the danger" (rewording) Column two, paragraph five, sentence six, reads "Let us learn in practice to develop the" (supplying additional material) Page 37: Column one, paragraph one, sentence one to two read: "on German soil, successfully continues its progress, thanks to the selfless commitment and creativity of the citizens and the policy of our party serving the people. Our people will forever remember the act of liberation by the Soviet people, who made the decisive contribution to saving mankind from the" (rewording) Same paragraph, sentence five reads: "forces to implement the change toward intensification in the GDR. (rewording)

Comparison of Zhivkov 4 Nov Kremlin Speech

Sofia *Rabotnichesko Delo* in Bulgarian on 5 November on pages 1 and 4 publishes the "Speech of Comrade Todor Zhivkov" at the 4 November Kremlin meeting of representatives of political parties and movements taking part in the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. This report has been compared to the 4 November Radio Moscow in Bulgarian version published in the 5 November Soviet Union *Daily Report* on pages 32 and 33. The comparison shows that the two versions are identical, except for differences in paragraphing and the following variations: Page 32: Column one, paragraph five, sentence three, reads: "destructive, fiery, and radiation waves of the" (providing indistinct word "radiation") Column two, paragraph five, sentence two, reads: "have literally been established by suffering [izstradani], they are the" (supplying "established by suffering" and vernacular) Page 33: Column two, paragraph two sentence one, reads: "note human rights; hunger and sickness," (changing punctuation)

Comparison of Husak's 4 Nov Moscow Speech

Bratislava *Pravda* in Slovak on 5 November on page 1 carries the 1,100-word "Speech by Comrade Gustav Husak," general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, at a meeting of representatives of parties and movements attending the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, held in Moscow on 4 November. A comparison with the 4 November Prague Domestic Service in Czech version, published in the 5 November Soviet Union *Daily Report* on pages 30-31, shows the two versions to be identical except for differences in paragraphing and the following

regional or international level. Any inclination to dialogue, talks, understanding, and strivings of various sides for the restoration of peace in the life of the people of Afghanistan, the cessation of bloodshed, and reciprocal activities of the opposition forces for cooperation and joint efforts, is bringing peace nearer.

We are realistic people. Meanwhile, there are other inclinations too. The irreconcilable forces of opposition being supported in Pakistani bases by imperialist and reactionary forces, and who extend to them formidable weaponry and financial assistance, are working for the disruption of the process of dialogue, talks, mutual understanding, and restoration of peaceful conditions in the country. However, with every passing day their strivings are becoming unproductive, because the people are tired of war; they want peace. Therefore, the people of Afghanistan fully support the policy of national reconciliation. They regard this policy as their own and the policy of national reconciliation has obtained a nationwide character. On the contrary, on the part of the opposing side, there is an intensification of disorder, panic, indecision, disagreement, clashes, and division.

On the opposition front another contradictory factor is also becoming outstanding. The opposition chieftains, in following the spirit of militarism, have been put in opposition to the refugees' wishes for a peaceful life and work. They are being confronted by the toilers, in particular those toilers who were deceived or by those who were dragged into the war by force and intimidation.

In following the new national principles for the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation, the PDPA has submitted firm proposal. However, it is clear to everyone that securing peace is much more difficult than fighting. Our party was not a party for war during nighttime and when you woke up in the morning it turned out to be a party of peace: time was and is needed in order that quantitative results in this direction transform to qualitative conditions and situations.

When we declared the policy of national reconciliation there was no prearranged recipe in our hand. We have learned and we are learning everything in a practical manner. Therefore, the theoretical and practical sides of our policy are progressing in parallel. Some times, in turn, one or the other overtakes each other. With courage we will critically analyze this process. Most of the issues display themselves well in practice. We will popularize them as a good experience. Those which do not show themselves to be good in practice will be eliminated. Practice continuously clears up various phases as well as complicated phases of the process. With specific political perception by the people, our measures are becoming complete. When we assess the issue from every angle we come to the conclusion that the policy of national

reconciliation generally leads to progress; there is no other alternative. We are hoping to have more positive results, therefore we generally assess the course of events as positive.

The issue of preferential importance to us is the support of the people for this policy and the fact that now our people and the world public place responsibility for the continuation of the war and bloodshed on the opposition, in particular on the extremists.

There are facts and figures: during the 203 days of reconciliation, 2,300 villages were liberated by peaceful means — the liberation of such villages in the past 8 years totals 7,000; during the past 8 years over 100,000 refugees have returned to their homes — so far this year the figure has reached 37,000 persons; 30,000 armed men have come over to the side of the government — during in the past 8 years the total was 12,000 men.

In other various socio-economic directions one can observe serious dynamic progress. Despite the growth of the state sector and the construction of city and village cooperatives, reciprocal advantageous and positive relations with private investors and entrepreneurs is constantly growing and broadening. Attention is being paid to the growth of handicraft industries. Recently the union of traders was established. All-round assistance is being given to all producers of commodities who form the socio-economic basis in the country. There is great potentials and reserves in Afghanistan and we can and must make maximum use of these reserves for securing normal and better living conditions for the people.

So far, all political initiatives were taken... (picking up paragraph two, sentence one, and supplying indistinct passage)

Page 36, column one, paragraph two, second sentence reads: ...including their independent newspapers and magazines (?was announced) provided they have the courage to accept the task of reconciliation and restoration of peace and security in the country.... (substituting "?was" for "?has", and supplying indistinct words)

Page 36, column one, paragraph three, last sentence reads: ...has taken practical steps in this direction to secure a form of coalition administration under the circumstances of socio-political democracy and political polarization. This principle was approved in the fundamental documents of the second nationwide party conference and in the PDPA Charter; it is also entered in the draft of the new constitution.

In these documents common effects and reciprocal cooperation between the PDPA and Left democratic and patriotic, religious and liberal democratic parties and organizations are mentioned. Coalition will take place at

two levels and in two directions: with Left and democratic forces — in unity with the Left block — and with other forces, including national Islamic or religious and liberal parties.

These organizations and political parties can discharge their activities in a national front or independently from the national front their activities, carried out in a free manner, will be guaranteed. These varying and differing political forces, by taking advantage of socioeconomic democratization of life in the country, will take part in legislative organs, parliamentary elections, and will also take part in the formation of a coalition government. [new paragraph]

As far as the role of the PDPA is concerned, ... (supplying indistinct passage)

Page 36, column two, paragraph two, last sentence: ...in our country can come to this door. [new graf]

The second stage of national reconciliation is linked with the convocation of the second nationwide PDPA conference. This conference was convened in a free, democratic and completely open atmosphere. It critically and profoundly assessed the past 5 difficult years and considered the preliminary stages of the implementation of the national reconciliation policy; drew up the ways and

means to accelerate the process of national reconciliation; and considered ways to search for objective facts and assess the people's initiatives. [new paragraph]

The conference raised the issue of the unity... (supplying indistinct passage)

Page 36, column two, paragraph three, last sentence: of the PDPA has and will put thier signature. This conference, by explaining explicitly and openly all issues, gained the confidence of the people and enhanced the credibility and prestige of the PDPA among society. This conference proved that the PDPA is not only a revolutionary party but is at the same time a national and patriotic force. This conference endorsed our duty as being that of assisting the cause of the high objectives of peace through the removal of regional tension. It is possible that the sparks of regional tension might at any minute spark the fire of all-out war. [new paragraph]

The conference showed that the PDPA is the ... (supplying indistinct passage)

Correction to 'Arafat Moscow Radio Interview

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Radio Interview," published in the 10 November Soviet Union *Daily Report*, pp 45-46: page 46, column two, paragraph three, first line: Now we come to your question about what... (changing "can" to "come")

Political & Social

Demonstrations in Latvia Reported

AU190836 Vienna Domestic Service in German
0600 GMT 19 Nov 87

[Text] Yesterday there were demonstrations and clashes between demonstrators and police in Latvia. The occasion was the anniversary of the proclamation of Latvia's independence from Russia on 18 November 1918. It has been reported that at least 7,000 people participated in a rally for a free Latvia in Riga. When demonstrators tried to advance toward the Liberty Monument, which was surrounded by police, and to lay flowers on the ground, bloody clashes started and many people were arrested. Baltic exile organizations and Soviet dissidents report similar incidents from the port city of Lepaya.

Last August there were demonstrations for separation from the USSR in the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

IZVESTIYA's Laptev Comments on Yeltsin

AU182108 Vienna Domestic Service in German
1700 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Raimund Loew report on interview by IZVESTIYA Chief Editor Laptev in Vienna, with recorded portions originally in Russian and followed by German translation in quotation marks, date not given]

[Text] Gorbachev's policy of restructuring has had an unusually animating impact on the government newspaper *Izvestiya*, editor in chief Ivan Laptev reports. The paper has won almost three million new subscribers since abuses are being openly pilloried and party officials are being criticized, something which is a clear signal of the population's increasing interest in politics. But what happened to glasnost, that is, transparency, in the case of deposed Moscow party chief Boris Yeltsin?

"After all, this had been dealt with and examined by the Moscow plenum; we published everything. As a participant in these events, I can state with full responsibility that the materials connected with this case were literally published down to the last word."

But Yeltsin's speech which brought about his downfall was not published?

"The fact is that Comrade Yeltsin did not give any particular speech at the CPSU Central Committee plenum. All that he said, and I stress once more down to the last word, was recounted by Comrade Gorbachev at the Moscow plenum"

Despite all criticism, Ivan Laptev refers to Boris Yeltsin with respect and with a certain warmth. Even Gorbachev at the decisive session of the Moscow party committee expressed understanding for those people who view the

committed reformer in a positive light, Laptev said. Depriving him of power for the time being only applies to the Moscow party leadership.

"So far he is not merely a member of the CPSU, he is still a candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo, that is, he is a member of the party leadership."

As a candidate member of the Politburo, Yeltsin can only be deposed by a Central Committee plenum. And Yeltsin remains a Central Committee member up to the next party congress or party conference, that is, up to the coming summer in any case.

Laptev does not perceive any slowing down or even a standstill in the restructuring process.

"I regard the statements about braking the restructuring as incorrect. The problem is that at the onset we began to solve those problems which were up to our strength, subsequently we took upon ourselves increasingly greater problems, and finally we embarked on the most important problem, the restructuring of the economy. Attempts to solve the problems here by way of a cavalry attack lead nowhere."

In the assessment of the *Izvestiya* chief editor, there is no danger of critical forces being intimidated by the most recent events. The latitude for the initiatives of the base and of informal groups which are surfacing everywhere throughout the entire Soviet Union will remain what it is.

"As far as informal organizations of our youth are concerned, they are now so actively engaged in their affairs that even we do not know how many of these informal organizations exist in our country. I do not think that they would now ease up in their activities in the future."

MOSCOW NEWS Reports Yeltsin Appointment

LD182031 Moscow in English to Great Britain
and Ireland 2000 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Text] The Soviet weekly *Moscow News* carries an article by an economist, Dr Gavriil Popov, who calls on Soviet people to pool their efforts in tackling the main problems facing the country. That, he says, is crucial for the current restructuring process in the Soviet Union.

He goes on, saying that although the idea has been construed by the leadership of the Communist Party it has so far failed to reach every citizen. Popov cites the example of Boris Yeltsin, the former leader of the Moscow Communist Party, who has been appointed as first deputy of the State Construction Committee [title as heard].

Yeltsin tried to oppose the recent full session of the party's Central Committee with an attitude of his own. He contended that restructuring lies in reshuffling personnel rather than in working persistently for a renewal of society.

The article says no matter how sincere such people might be in their intentions they show nothing but their confusion in the face of the complicated problems of today.

Nikonov Addresses Bryansk Obkom

PM181511 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 12 Nov 87 First Edition p 1-2

[Report by TASS special correspondents Yu. Lodkin and A. Filatov: "Taking Working People's Interests Into Account"]

[Text] Bryansk, 11 Nov—Ways of accelerating the development of the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex and the oblast party organization's tasks connected with this important work have been comprehensively discussed at a Bryansk CPSU Obkom plenum.

It was stressed in the report by CPSU Obkom First Secretary A.F. Voystrochenko and in the speeches by plenum participants that in order to fulfill the Food Program, considerably improve food supplies for the population, and widen the range it is necessary to radically change the attitude toward the processing sector and give it priority development. This must be done because the processing enterprises of the Oblast Agroprom are chronically behind in their development and are inhibiting the growth of foodstuffs production.

Numerous shortcomings and omissions were revealed in a self-critical and businesslike manner and the people actually to blame for the stagnation were named. The speakers paid special attention to the search for a way out of the situation and for ways of radically restructuring the vitally important national economic sector.

The plenum was addressed by V.P. Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Soviet people and all progressive mankind, he said, have just been celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Every October anniversary is a great and splendid festival. This jubilee is special among these important events: It coincides with truly revolutionary transformations in our society's life. The restructuring taking place in the country is having a tremendous impact on the minds and hearts of Soviet people and the whole of mankind.

The working class and our peasantry and intelligentsia wholeheartedly support the party line of restructuring the economy and all aspects of society's life. A creative quest is taking place in the labor collectives of industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and scientific

research institutions for reserves and new forms of labor organization and incentives. Something else that is important is the feature M.S. Gorbachev stressed in his report at the festive session in the Kremlin—people are becoming more demanding toward themselves and toward leaders and specialists and are resolutely opposed to mismanagement and irresponsibility.

This exactingness was reflected in the work of the party obkom plenum. I would hope that it will be a permanent feature of the day-to-day activities of the oblast party organization and the solution of the vitally important problems that are being discussed today.

In recent years, the speaker went on, certain positive advances have been accomplished in the sphere of the country's agro-industrial production. They are the result of the implementation of measures elaborated by the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) Plenum and the Food Program. Agriculture, particularly livestock raising, is developing more steadily and the processing sectors are increasing output and widening the range of products. Economic life in the countryside has picked up particularly since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, which determined the course of acceleration and restructuring.

In the last 2 years average annual grain production has exceeded 210 million tonnes. The average indicators for meat production have increased by nearly 2 million tonnes, milk by 8.5 million tonnes, and eggs by more than 7 billion eggs. On this basis there have been changes for the better in food consumption.

But all this is just a beginning. Restructuring has entered a crucial period and new efforts and most resolute measures are needed in the solution of the tasks put forward by the 27th party congress and CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum. Foremost among them, as is known, is the task of achieving a considerable improvement of the country's food supplies in 2-3 years. All the objective conditions exist for this. But they must be fully exploited and potential must be converted into reality.

Party organizations, soviet and economic organs, and leaders and specialists of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises and organizations in the agro-industrial complex in many republics and oblasts, Bryansk Oblast among them, unfortunately have not yet taken full advantage of the conditions created by the new economic management mechanism, CPSU Central Committee resolutions on measures to accelerate the solution of the food question, and other documents to activate the human factor and improve the performance of all areas of agro-industrial production.

Hence the poor results in the development of public-sector agriculture and the insufficient involvement of industry's subsidiary farms and citizens' personal plots in swelling food resources.

Having analyzed in detail the state of affairs in these very important areas, V.P. Nikonov said that with enormous assistance from the state a mighty production potential has been created in Bryansk Oblast to increase farming and livestock raising output. In the 10th and 11th 5-Year Plans state and cooperative investments in agricultural development amounted to around R3 billion. During that period agricultural fixed production capital increased 2.5 times over and power availability per agricultural worker increased by 62%, which is 8% above the union level.

All this made it possible in 1986 to increase gross output by 4.8% and labor productivity by 17.5% compared with the average annual indicators of the 11th 5-Year Plan. At the same time, there was no fundamental breakthrough in the oblast's agricultural production. The average annual rate of increase in output over the 11th 5-Year Plan was lower than the rate envisaged by the Food Program: by 54% in the case of grain, 30% in the case of potatoes, 37% in the case of vegetables, 25% in the case of meat, and 21% in the case of milk. The oblast failed to achieve the 1986 production rate target too. A considerable amount of agricultural raw material that could be produced locally is brought in from outside the oblast for processing. For example, 85-90% of the cucumbers, tomatoes, and onions for the canning industry are brought in from outside, along with one-fourth of the dill and 15% of the marrows.

The situation is mainly due to low farming standards, an underestimation of intensive factors, and extremely unsatisfactory work on preserving and increasing natural soil fertility. According to the data of the All-Russian Scientific Research and Planning and Technological Institute of Agricultural Chemicalization, the humus content of the soil has dropped in the last 18 years from 2 to 1.8%. Soil acidity is intolerably high. Only 8 metric tons of organic fertilizers, based on peat with a small degree of microbiological activity, are applied per hectare of arable land.

A large stock of reclaimed land—175,000 hectares—has been created in the oblast. But productivity on this land remains low. In 1986 26 and 28 quintals of feed units were harvested per hectare of drained and irrigated land, respectively.

The low agricultural crop yield is due primarily to neglect of seed growing. Around 20% of the seeds annually sown by kolkhozes and sovkhozes are nonregionalized strains and more than 40% are many generations old. Seed growing for buckwheat and pulse crops is in a parlous state. Omissions in seed growing are one reason why the oblast is lagging behind neighboring Belorussian SSR oblasts in terms of potato yields.

The poor standard of livestock raising is due to shortcomings in crop farming. For a long time the oblast has been marking time and even going backward. For instance, last year meat production increased by only 1%

compared with the average annual indicators for the 9th 5-year plan; milk production fell by 3% and wool production by 21%. The average milk yields per cow scarcely exceeded 2,000 kg per year. Daily weight gains in cattle during fattening were only 420 grams, while for hogs the figure was some 300 grams. Nearly one-fourth of the cows and 40% of sheep produced no young. In 10 rayons meat production fell, in 13 milk production fell, and in 9 the productivity of the cows decreased. And this year the situation is being rectified only slowly. In the 1st 9 months, for instance, only 1,816 kg of milk was obtained per cow—30 kg less than the average for the RSFSR.

All this happens because every year the livestock are kept on semistarvation rations on the farms. For every standard head of livestock, only 13-17 quintals of feed units are procured for the winter. The quality of coarse and succulent feed is low. This year more than 30% of the hay checked, 27% of the haylage, and 40% of silage were third-category or substandard.

Many farms have no good feed shops, hay stores, or silage and haylage capacities. This leads to great losses and wastage of feed and considerable over expenditure.

The agroprom and the rayon agro-industrial associations show little concern for economic problems. Collective, family, and rental contracts are not as widespread as they should be, on a number of farms they have been introduced only formally, and the checkbook [chekhovyy] system of monitoring expenditure is not used. As a result production costs increase and there is no purposeful struggle for savings and thrift. The prime cost of a quintal of milk on the Partizan and Krasnoye Sovkhozes, for instance, was R67 last year—nearly twice the planned figure.

The party Central Committee's demand for every oblast, kray, and republic to be as self-sufficient as possible in food products sets the task, along with strengthening the public agrarian sector, of actively developing citizens' and enterprises' private plots and collective fruit and vegetable growing. However, the oblast makes poor use of this reserve. Since 1980 the number of cows on the population's private plots has fallen to 30,000. Over the same period the dairy herd in the public sector has fallen by 3,000 head. By the beginning of this year 54 out of every 100 rural families had no cattle, 59 had no cows, 92 no sheep, and 31 no hogs.

Nor are the subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises being developed as they should. Here a situation whereby only one in three enterprises has a subsidiary farm is tolerated.

The speaker drew serious attention to shortcomings in the organization of collective fruit and vegetable growing: More than 40% of urban families have no garden or vegetable plot.

All these omissions and shortcomings affect the provision of food to the population and lead to the establishment of high market prices on many food products. It should be added that kolkhozes and sovkhoses do not make use of their right to sell 30% of fruit and vegetable produce and potatoes on the kolkhoz markets. Last year less than 2% of the total volume of potatoes and vegetables sold were sold at the markets, and this year the figure is even lower.

Reducing losses of output during harvesting, transportation, storage, and processing is a real source of additional food resources. Here the main obstacle is the major disproportion between the production of output and capacities for its processing and storage and the extremely weak material and technical base of the processing sectors.

The CPSU Central Committee heard the report of the Bryansk CPSU Obkom and Oblispolkom on work to fulfill party and government resolutions on the development of processing sectors and the storage base of the agro-industrial complex. The examination of this question showed that the work of the oblast's party, soviet, and economic organs is not purposeful and fails to accord with the tasks set by the Food Program, and it was deemed unsatisfactory. Here it was stressed that the party obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms assess incorrectly the prevailing situation regarding the development of the food industry and the storage base and are not taking proper measures to build up and constantly renew their production potential. This attitude has led to a situation where, out of 120 processing enterprises, 33 are located in premises that have been adapted from some other use, 34 are in an unsatisfactory technical and sanitary condition, and 80 have no cleansing facilities.

There is particular laggardness in the development of the meat processing, starch syrup, canning, and flax and hemp processing sectors of industry and the grain reception enterprises.

The rate of growth of capacities for the processing of grain, sugar beet, potatoes, and meat in 1976-1986 was one-third to two-thirds lower than the rate of growth of state purchases of these types of produce. Targets set for the oblast for the 10th and 11th 5-Year Plans for the construction of processing enterprises and stores in accordance with resolutions on the further development of the RSFSR's Non-Chernozem Zone were not fulfilled.

This matter is showing no improvement in the current 5-year plan. The construction of a number of production facilities is unjustifiably prolonged over many years. The construction of a sausage production shop in Navlya is in its 9th year, a bakery at Dubovka is in its 5th year of construction, and a vegetable drying shop in Surazh is in its 4th year of construction. The modernization of the Klimovo bakery is still unfinished after 3 years.

The state of affairs is even worse as regards the construction of storehouses for fruit and vegetable produce and potatoes. The demand for these storehouses is only one-half satisfied. Even so, this year, out of the planned 27,000 tonnes of warehouse capacity, only 16,500 tonnes has been commissioned. That is 61% of the annual plan.

Given the existing extremely weak material and technical base and the shortage of capacities for production of a number of food products, the oblast does not devote due attention to the full utilization of the available production potential, and many enterprises, once built, operate for a long period without a full workload and do not attain design capacities. Thus the potato meal production capacities commissioned 10 years ago at the Sevsk vegetable drying plant are used to 15% of capacity, on average. At the Suzemka and Kletnya cheese plants and the Novozybkov cannery the load on the equipment is 40-60%. A similar situation is observed at many consumer cooperative enterprises.

The collectives of processing enterprises fail to attach due significance to increasing the efficiency of utilization of agricultural raw materials and introducing progressive and waste-free technologies. They are not yet making use of membrane processing of milk, the production of bakery products with raising agents and improvers, apple pectin, dried meat stock, grain extrusion, and other techniques. The production areas freed and the potential offered as a result of the redesignation of alcohol enterprises are used totally inadequately for supplementing food resources. There is much formalism in this work, and too little purposefulness and proprietorial enterprise. The practice of overfulfilling plans for the less troublesome production of alcohol products continues.

Many leaders have deep-rooted parasitic habits which prevent them from seeking ways of increasing the production of food products through the better use of local potential. In the majority of rayons the demand for nonalcoholic drinks, ice cream, cakes, and pastries is still not satisfied. The range of rolls, biscuits, and farinaceous and confectionery goods is poor. Stores in the oblast and rayon centers sell vinegar brought in from Dnepropetrovsk, acetic acid from Zaporozhye Oblast, apple jelly from Moscow, and fruit jellies and pastilles from the Belorussian SSR.

Commercial fish farming is an important reserve. The oblast has more than 8,000 hectares of water of significance for fish farming. A fish farm has been set up and there are four power stations and several industrial enterprises with warm water. But only 280 metric tons of fish, or some 200 grams per inhabitant, is raised for sale to the population.

The party obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms and soviets of people's deputies monitor only feebly the enterprises' fulfillment of output production plans. In 1986 the shortfall in the fulfillment of the plan for production of

many of the most important food products amounted to a total of some R1.5 million at retail prices. This year too, despite the availability of raw material resources, the January-September plan was unfulfilled for the production of cheese, butter, dried skimmed milk and wholemilk substitutes, canned fruit and fruit juices, nonalcoholic drinks, kvass, starch, and nonfat dairy produce. In all the shortfall in these goods amounted to R2.1 million.

The fall in quality and the spoilage of food products does considerable economic and moral damage. There are many complaints about the poor quality of sausage, bakery, and confectionery products, cheeses, and canned vegetables. The reason for goods being rejected or substandard (in 80 cases out of 100) is, as a rule, the violation or failure to comply with sanitary and technological rules. The situation is particularly unsatisfactory as regards the quality of output produced at the Bezhitskiy and Novozybkov food combines, the Fokino and Klintsey bakeries, and enterprises in the canning and vegetable drying industry.

Shortcomings in the work of processing enterprises are largely explained by the low standard of leadership by the oblast agroprom and rayon agro-industrial associations. The large apparatus of these organs has not grasped the fact that processing sectors are an integral part of agro-industry. Many rayon agro-industrial associations have entirely dodged the management of enterprises of the storage and processing base.

Bryansk Oblast has a high production potential in machine building and the electrical equipment and chemical industry. However, this potential is not being used to reequip the processing enterprises and the storage base.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary analyzed in depth the activity of the party committees. They are doing little to increase the militancy of the primary party organizations of processing industry enterprises, and they tolerate serious shortcomings in work on the selection, placing, and education of cadres. Party, soviet, and trade union organs do not display the necessary exactness toward economic leaders for the improvement of the workers' working and living conditions and medical, trade, and consumer services and the resolution of the housing problem.

The party's very important demand for a radical improvement in food supplies to the population over the next few years must, the speaker continued, be seen in terms of the whole range of interconnected tasks. First and foremost we must get rid of the established view of processing sectors as secondary spheres of the economy. Everything concerning the development of the material and technical base for the processing, storage, and transportation of raw materials and food products today comes to the fore. It is a question of organizing this entire sector of work in such a way that it accords with

the rate of growth of agricultural production and everything that is grown and obtained in the fields and livestock units reaches the consumer in the best possible form.

To ensure a real acceleration of scientific and technical progress in processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, tasks also face the central planning organs and ministries and departments producing machines and equipment and packaging materials and carrying out the capital construction and modernization of enterprises. In order radically to rectify the state of affairs in food sectors of industry, it is necessary to double the production of equipment by enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, while in other sectors of machine building these volumes must increase fourfold to ninefold. It is necessary to assimilate production of high productivity machinery of the new generation and machine systems encompassing major changes over the whole area of storage, transportation, and processing. The mighty production, scientific, and technical potential of the defense sectors of industry, as well as civil machine building, is being brought in to help tackle this problem. The end of the 13th 5-Year Plan should see the full satisfaction of requirements for capacities for processing livestock and poultry, wholemilk products, cheeses, vegetable oil, canned fruit and vegetables, and other products.

The consumer cooperative system is channeling significant resources of its own into building small-capacity procurement and processing enterprises and shops.

Local party, soviet, and economic organs face the task of ensuring that an integrated, harmonious, interconnected system of production, procurements, processing, storage, and sales operates in every republic, kray, and oblast and in every rayon, so as to fully satisfy the population's requirements for food products.

It is necessary more rapidly to eliminate disproportions in the development of all sectors of the agro-industrial complex and ensure the further deepening of the integration of agricultural and processing production units and the balanced development of their material and technical base.

The oblast must resolve as quickly as possible questions of ensuring the full provision from local production of confectionery and margarine products, mayonnaise, a wide range of nonalcoholic drinks, rolls, biscuits, pasta, and many other products.

It is necessary to accelerate the creation of capacities for the prompt reception and processing of all livestock products. Here attention should be paid to the speediest modernization of existing production units and the construction of medium and small capacity enterprises actually in the zones where livestock and poultry are raised.

In the construction and modernization of dairy industry enterprises, consideration must be given to setting up specialized shops for the production of milk products for child nutrition at urban dairies.

Today's task for the party obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms and the oblispolkom and city and rayon soviets is to step up monitoring of the work of processing enterprises and ensure the fulfillment of the current year's plans for the construction and modernization of enterprises, cold stores, and storehouses, the production of the planned range of food products, and production and procurements of agricultural produce.

Particular attention must be paid to a steady increase in food production and unconditional fulfillment of plans for 1987 and the subsequent years of the 5-year plan.

V.P. Nikonov said in conclusion that it is necessary in every way to increase the responsibility of party organizations and economic leaders for the utilization of the potential created and of production capacities and to step up exactingness concerning the fulfillment of targets for increasing the production of food products. Party organs are called upon to give all their work a political thrust and use all forms of influence and all their efforts and experience in the cause of mobilizing the labor collectives to fulfill the set tasks.

Further on Biryukova Visit to Kirghiz SSR

Speaks to Voters

PM171631 *Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA*
in Russian 27 Oct 87 pp 1-2

[KIRTAG report: "Time for Specific Action: Voters' Meeting with A.P. Biryukova"—boldface passages as published]

[Excerpts] The present-day stage of restructuring is a time for specific and vigorous action that should lead to practical results. The millions of Soviet people actively participating in the implementation of the ideas of renewal include the working people of Frunze's Oktyabrskiy Electoral Okrug No 332 in the capital of Soviet Kirghizstan. On 26 October their representatives visited the Toktogul Satylganov Kirghiz State Philharmonic to meet with Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy from Frunze's Oktyabrskiy Electoral Okrug. [passage omitted]

A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who was warmly welcomed by those present, took the rostrum.

Dear comrades, A.P. Biryukova said, I am very happy to visit the Kirghiz capital, Frunze, once again, and to meet with you—workers, employees, scientists, specialists, young people, labor veterans, cultural and arts figures, and party, trade union, Komsomol, and economic workers.

I would like to cordially thank you for your welcome and for Frunze people's ardent support for the party's political course and the activity of the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Soviet Government.

Our meeting is being held on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which sharply changed the course of history and the destiny of our country's peoples. The socialist system made it possible to turn previously backward Russia into a mighty industrial power in a very short historical time, to successfully resolve the most complex social problems, and to create the world's first state in which more than 100 nations and ethnic groups live according to the laws of equality, justice, and inviolable fraternal friendship.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum held the other day vividly demonstrated the great force of the continuity of revolutionary traditions and the indissoluble link between the restructuring under way in the country and the ideas and cause of October. The great purport of restructuring is to fundamentally renew all spheres of our society's life, to reveal the advantages of socialism to the full, and to bring the country up to qualitatively new heights.

People, their prosperity, and their social, spiritual, and moral improvement are the supreme goal of all these revolutionary transformations and all the efforts of the party and people. The slogan of restructuring is—more socialism, more democracy, and more for people and for the sake of people.

We have come a long way—even in historical terms—since April 1985.

It has been a road of objective, realistic, critical and self-critical analysis of the historic experience of building socialism and developing Soviet society, particularly in recent decades.

It has been a road of questing for new ideas and molding new political thinking and the concept of the further development of Soviet society.

The party has created the theory and policy of restructuring and worked out principled solutions encompassing the main spheres of life—the economic, social, political, and spiritual spheres.

The party's general course—the course of acceleration and restructuring—has received undivided support from the overwhelming majority of the Soviet people. The tone in society is being set by forces resolutely opposing

stagnation and everything obsolete and sluggish and advocating a creative approach to the resolution of urgent problems and specific practical action. People are starting to square their shoulders everywhere and to feel that they are the full and prudent masters of their enterprise, republic, city, oblast, and rayon.

The party and the CPSU Central Committee and Politburo see this as the main political result of the period since April and the 27th party congress.

The new moral and political situation is being felt here too, in your republic and its capital. My meetings and talks with working people over the last few days convince me of this yet again. It is important that people do not restrict themselves to verbal approval of the party line, but become more and more actively involved in practical work.

This is the main thing today. The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee January, June, and October Plenums are translating the ideas of restructuring into practical action. The center of gravity in all these efforts is being switched to implementing the political, economic, and organizational solutions that have been worked out and to achieving specific, tangible, and generally visible results.

This considerably enhances the role and responsibility of local party, soviet, and economic organs and highlights work in labor collectives. People do not expect changes from "above" or "outside" but right where they actually live and work.

We have now entered the stage where the profound changes in the economy will start to affect the foundations of people's lives. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo has defined this as the crucial stage. Overcoming it and coping with the complex problems bound up with it means winning the decisive battle for restructuring and securing a sound beachhead for boosting the people's prosperity and ensuring the comprehensive progress of our motherland.

That is why both today and in the future the restructuring of management is a most important task for all the party and all the people. It will require enormous effort, painstaking political, economic, and organizational work, and accurate and coordinated action.

As of 1 January 1988 associations and enterprises producing 60% of all industrial output will be switched to the principles of financial autonomy [khozraschet], self-financing, and self-capitalization. It is planned to radically restructure the planning, price formation, material and technical supply, financial, credit, labor management, social development, and statistics systems. A range of measures is being implemented to improve the organizational structures of management.

We must enter the 13th 5-Year Plan with a new economic mechanism. The 5-year plan itself must also be prepared on new foundations and principles.

The next few years will be a sort of transitional period for the Soviet economy, when both new and old management methods will inevitably have to be used. This will undoubtedly create additional difficulties and present all links of economic and party leadership with unusual problems that require original and creative approaches.

The complexity of this transitional period is also linked with the fact that the restructuring of the management system is taking place on the move, so to speak. It is happening at the same time as the resolution of the socioeconomic tasks of the 12th 5-Year Plan.

Despite all the difficulties of restructuring, the national economy should function normally and the 5-year plan targets should be fulfilled. The party Central Committee and the government will strictly monitor adopted decisions to ensure that there is no downgrading of plans.

The party Central Committee is setting the question extremely clearly and exactly: **Today at the initial stage of restructuring everyone at each work sector and in their own sphere of activity must achieve tangible practical results.**

The progress in fulfilling the plan for the country's economic and social development in 1987 and in the 1st 2 years of the 5-year plan shows that on the whole the country's economy is developing in line with the 5-year plan indicators. Thus, output growth over the 1st 2 years has been 8.9% in industry and around 10% in agriculture. All the plans for social development and for improving the people's living standard have been fulfilled.

But the development of the national economy has not yet become as stable as it could be, there are laggard sectors, and deep-seated factors of economic growth have not been brought into play. The result is that there has not yet been any radical breakthrough.

There have been undoubted successes in socioeconomic development in your republic. It is gratifying to note the results of the work of industrial enterprises in the Otkyabrskiy Rayon of the Kirghiz capital. It is already clear today that 3 enterprises, 15 shops and sections, 137 teams, and over 5,000 workers will successfully fulfill the plan for the 1st 2 years of the 5-year plan by 7 November. I have been told that your rayon will greet the glorious jubilee without any laggard enterprises. This, as the saying goes, is an example worth copying. And, needless to say, copying constantly—not just on the preholiday days.

On the whole, the state of affairs in the Kirghiz SSR economy remains tense, many key problems are being solved only slowly and not at the proper level.

Today the economy can no longer be approached with traditional, purely quantitative yardsticks. The task is to ensure a new quality of growth. And the indispensable conditions for this are evenness, the improvement of efficiency, and the fulfillment of contractual commitments.

But it is in these most important areas that the republic's economy this year has developed poorly, and in some areas is even losing ground.

The fulfillment of contractual commitments for output delivery has deteriorated in comparison with last year. One in every four associations and enterprises have failed to cope with the plan for this indicator.

Labor productivity growth rates continue to lag behind.

Prime cost targets have not been fulfilled for the 2d year in succession.

Industry continues to suffer from arrhythmia, which has a particularly negative impact on the quality of output. The proportion of premier quality output is lower than planned.

There have been no notable improvements in capital construction and the assimilation of newly commissioned capacities.

Poor use is made of fixed production capital.

There are plenty of problems, as you can see. Urgent and vigorous measures are needed to rectify the situation.

As M.S. Gorbachev said recently in Murmansk, we should start by instilling order and strengthening discipline and organization at all production collectives and by resolutely increasing responsibility for the conscientious fulfillment of our duties. This applies to everyone and all workers—wherever they may work and whatever their job.

I would like to draw attention to the need to bring the potential of scientific and technical progress fully into play. Let us be blunt, the scale and pace of this work in your republic are not in line with the demands of the time. The plans for developing science and technology in the republic are systematically not fulfilled. This not only complicates the resolution of current socioeconomic tasks but erodes the basis for effective work in the future.

It is from this standpoint that we must assess the situation in the republic's machine building complex. The foundations are being laid here for a widespread advance to fundamentally new, resource-saving technologies that will make it possible to sharply improve labor productivity and output quality.

Kirghizia's machine builders have made no real breakthrough for the better last year or this year. Disruptions in their work are having an unhealthy impact on many sectors of the economy.

The party is aiming to fundamentally restructure the work of the machine building complex and demands a qualitative leap forward in this key area.

One other thing. The need to improve the financial position of enterprises and organizations and to beef up the thrift regime is a most important condition for the transition to the new economic mechanism, self-financing, and self-capitalization.

There are many loss-making enterprises and farms in the republic, and their numbers are not falling. Cases of the wasteful use of funds are common. Economic and commercial accounting is poorly organized in many sectors and enterprises.

Complete economic accountability and self-financing require that every enterprise unconditionally fulfill the income plan and make the most effective use of financial resources. Otherwise, not only will there not be the wherewithal to resolve questions of the retooling of production and the social development of collectives, but there will be no resources available to pay wages.

Hence the simple and fair rule: Labor collectives themselves earn the funds for production and social development, for economic incentives, and for the transition to new labor remuneration conditions. Under the new economic management conditions the way that production is improved and the extent to which housing, preschool institutions, leisure centers, or young pioneer camps are built and wages rise will all directly depend on the standard of our work, the fulfillment of the profits plan, and the amount of income earned.

The experience of the transition of a number of enterprises to complete economic accountability and self-financing, including in Kirghizia, shows that this is a very, very difficult matter. Wherever the preparations for the new economic management conditions have been approached superficially and in a formal manner, there have been disruptions and the state of enterprises' finances has been seriously complicated. That is what has happened, for instance, at many of the republic's light industry enterprises.

The mass economic education of literally everyone—from republic leaders and ministers to workers—must be conducted more actively. And it is important not only to know and understand the general principles of reform but to be able to use them effectively in management practice. This is the key to successful work by labor collectives.

All our efforts in the economy are subordinate to a single goal—ensuring real growth in working people's prosperity, improving their working and living conditions, and enriching our spiritual and cultural life. We must—and M.S. Gorbachev emphasized this in his Leningrad speech—**keep the social consequences of restructuring constantly in mind** and see and assess every step along the road of restructuring in human terms.

The party and Central Committee are firmly and consistently implementing this line and are everywhere displacing the leftover principle of financing the social sphere. This year the pace of capital investment growth in the development of the social sphere has been approximately three times faster than in the national economy as a whole.

This trend will continue in the future. The plan for 1988, which has just been ratified by a USSR Supreme Soviet session, plans to channel 17% more capital investment than envisaged by the 5-year plan targets into the social sphere from all sources of finance. More than R7 billion has been switched into this sector from production construction.

Additional funds have been sought for the implementation of priority measures in health care and in improving physicians' wages, student grants, and the pensions of a number of classes of pensioners.

The most acute problems worrying people are the food and housing problems and the supply of goods and services. They are at the center of the party's social policy.

The situation in these spheres is improving somewhat both in the country as a whole and in your republic. **Take the food problem.** Over the last 2 years the average annual production of meat and milk in the country has increased by 2 million and 8.5 million tonnes respectively, while average annual egg production has increased by more than 7 billion eggs. Harvests of many types of vegetable produce are increasing, even though this year their growth rate has slowed owing to the complex weather conditions.

There have been positive changes in Kirghizia's agrarian sector too. Last year gross agricultural output in the republic was 10.2% above the average annual level, while livestock products were 11.5% up.

Things are going well in the agro-industrial sector in the current year too. In the 1st 9 months of the year meat production rose by 6% milk production by 5% and egg production by 10%.

However, the food store shelves and the menus at public catering enterprises show that what has been achieved by no means accords with the demands or the real potential

of Kirghizia. The republic still seriously lags behind the average union level of per capita consumption of a number of catering products—specifically, meat, milk, vegetables, and cucurbits.

So the task set by the 18th Kirghiz Communist Party Congress of bringing per capita consumption of meat, milk, eggs, and other basic foodstuffs up to average all-union levels in the next few years remains very urgent.

It is indisputable, comrades, that the basis for solving the food question in the country has been and remains the accelerated development of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production. Here it is important to persistently introduce the principles of economic accountability without delay or hesitation, to actively promote the team and family contracts, to make better use of advanced agricultural production methods, and to develop the sociocultural sphere in the countryside.

But the resolution of the food problem can and should be promoted also by the fuller realization of the potential of enterprises' subsidiary farms, citizens' private plots, and collective horticulture and truck farming.

It should be said that there is still a great deal of unused potential in developing these forms in the republic. Some 130,000 rural families—or 35% of the total—do not keep cattle. The contribution made to food resources by enterprises' subsidiary farms is extremely small.

Favorable conditions have now been created for bringing all these reserves into play. The unjustified restrictions that used to exist with relation to private plots and collective horticulture have been lifted and new benefits established. Authorization has been given for the transfer to industrial enterprises of weak kolkhozes and sovkhozes as subsidiary farms, and for them to be supplied with equipment, fertilizer, and other material and technical resources on general terms.

Recently, as you know, a conference was held at the Central Committee which discussed ways of developing the processing sectors of the country's agro-industrial complex at an accelerated pace. Measures aimed at ensuring fundamental improvements in this sphere have been mapped out. The task has been set of providing good storage facilities in the next 2-3 years for all agricultural produce and of intensifying the processing of meat and milk. In the next 5-7 years major processing industry capacities will be reconstructed and modernized on a new technical basis.

In short, there is every opportunity to solve the food problem. There has been a considerable increase in the role and responsibility of local organs of power for ensuring complete self-sufficiency in food. It is now a question of skillful organizational work.

The republic's party, soviet, and economic organs have stepped up their attention to developing the social sphere. According to the results of the 1st 9 months of this year the level of fulfillment of the annual plan for the commissioning of cultural and consumer projects in the republic is somewhat higher than in the country as a whole. These are gratifying facts.

But the real improvements in the social sphere should not be assessed by how much is built of what—although this is important—but by how the real provision of social or cultural amenities to the population is changing. If, for instance, 40% more hospitals were commissioned in the republic last year, but the number of hospital beds per 10,000 people did not increase but, on the contrary, even fell—from 119.2 to 118.7—it can hardly be said that this social problem is already being solved. No, it is still getting worse. To a lesser extent than before, but it is getting worse.

The same can be said for housing construction. The 1986 plans for housing construction in the Kirghiz SSR were fulfilled. Some 19,000 new well-equipped apartments were built and housing conditions improved for 109,000 people. Housing construction rates in the republic have now increased by 11%. But they must be much higher in order to fulfill the task set by the 27th CPSU Congress of providing every family with their own apartment by the year 2000.

Other social problems remain acute. More than one-third of schoolchildren in the republic share their school premises with two or three other schools on a rotating basis. More than 30,000 applications from parents who want to send their children to preschool establishments—which, incidentally, are very overstretched—have been turned down.

So we must not rest on our laurels. Efforts in the sphere of housing and sociocultural construction must be built up, and much more actively. Here too the decisive role is played by the republic and local organs of power, the labor collectives themselves, and by the inhabitants of the republic themselves. Their potential in this respect has been considerably expanded.

One of the key problems in the people's welfare is to meet the demand for various kinds of high-quality goods and services. This is a special and very sensitive indicator by which people can judge the progress of restructuring.

It would be wrong not to note the positive changes taking place here. All sectors are stepping up their contribution to increasing consumer goods output. More attention is being paid to producing improved-quality goods—particularly fashion items. The range of services available to the population is expanding. The first steps in this direction are being taken by cooperatives and individual forms of labor activity.

But on the whole there has not yet been a fundamental breakthrough in the consumer market. A large part of the blame for this lies with light industry, which has not yet restructured itself and has not drawn the proper conclusions from the criticism at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum.

Very many enterprises in this sector of the republic are undermining contractual deliveries and often work with their warehouse rather than the customer in mind. Moreover, the quality of output leaves something to be desired, to put it mildly. Thus it is that you seem to produce a great deal of fabrics, footwear, and clothing, but people often cannot buy what they need and like.

The republic's population justifiably complains about the situation regarding cultural, consumer, and domestic goods. Consumer demand for vacuum cleaners, sewing and washing machines, two-compartment refrigerators, and many other items is being poorly satisfied. At the same time, the republic's industry failed to fulfill the 9-month plan for the production of cultural and consumer goods, posting an almost R19 million production shortfall. Under half as many nonfood goods are produced per capita in Kirghizia than on average in the country.

The leadership of the republic and labor collectives must be more active in seeking out and bringing into play reserves for increasing the output of consumer goods. You have such reserves—and they are considerable.

The trade turnover plan in the republic is not fulfilled year in year out. Judging by everything, that is the case this year too. This is a very alarming trend.

Things are somewhat better with regard to the fulfillment of the plans for the provision of paid services to the population, even though it must be plainly stated that this has mainly been achieved through traditional types of services. Services promoting people's cultural and physical improvement or the strengthening of their health are poorly developed in the republic. Unfortunately, the republic's soviet, trade union, and sports organs are not yet displaying the necessary activeness.

Initiative, independence, and responsibility are what are needed now, particularly as regards the questions of meeting people's everyday needs and requirements.

Comrades! On meeting with you last May I received a number of instructions as a candidate USSR Supreme Soviet deputy. I can report with satisfaction that many of these have been fulfilled with the active assistance of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government. Thus, the necessary funds—over R18 million—have been allocated for the modernization

of phase two of the Frunze Housing Construction Combine. The question of starting construction on a peak-load boilerhouse at the TETS-2 has been resolved. Considerable expenditure is planned for this project—around R35 million.

In the time since the elections I have received many letters from your republic. This fact in itself cannot fail to be gratifying. If people write it means they believe in you. They believe in Soviet power. But, on the other hand, it is well known that people rarely write when everything is going fine. Most of the letters are complaints and requests. That is understandable: If something bothers people, they discuss it. But, as a rule, the "problems" are general ones: housing, health care, the organization of public education, supplies of food and industrial goods, conflicts at work. Incidentally, there are quite a lot of complaints from Kirghizia about unfair dismissal, and checks show that in most cases they are justified. This means, apart from anything else, that the republic's trade unions are carrying out poorly their function of protecting working people's interests.

It is also worrying that certain letters list long series of Kirghiz organizations to which the person in question has already written, but to no avail. People still often encounter bureaucracy, inattention, and red tape.

So since the proper measures are not taken locally on the basis of working people's warnings, they write to central organs and the highest authorities.

The writers of these letters mostly see restructuring as something happening only somewhere in the center or the capital. "We," they often write, "have not seen restructuring, it has not touched us." If allowed to develop, these sentiments, linked with the expectation of change solely from "above," will reinforce the notorious braking mechanism which we want to destroy.

As a deputy I naturally devote great attention to any request, complaint, or letter and try as far as I can to help people if their complaints or requests are justified. But, comrades, let us take a thoroughly stringent and principled look at the situation: Is it not reminiscent of endless "papering over" of the cracks left by negligent workers?

Does it take a reminder from a deputy for a war invalid to be brought fuel for the winter?

Does it take intervention by a deputy to make the city buses run on time?

Is a word from a deputy the only thing that can stop the leaders of enterprises or institutions being abusive toward their subordinates and make them be sociable with them, take a human interest in their joys and troubles, and help them as far as they can?

Does it really take a special CPSU Central Committee resolution to prevent blatant violations of housing distribution? As you know, the Kirghiz SSR along with certain other republics was criticized in the recent CPSU Central Committee resolution.

I am sure that the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the republic's government will profoundly analyze the reasons for manifestations of inattentiveness and bureaucracy in the activity of a number of party, soviet, and economic organs and will deal strictly with the specific guilty parties. But the main thing is to establish a system precluding such phenomena.

The interests of restructuring require the further democratization of all spheres of public life. The party sees this as a powerful means of developing the creativity of the broadest masses, as the main motive force of restructuring, and as the guarantee that the changes will not be reversed. The course of democratization is the restoration and enrichment under modern conditions of one of V.I. Lenin's main ideas—that the running of society under socialism should be a matter for working people themselves.

Signs of democratization are today visible everywhere. This means the emergence of new social organizations, including such mass-based and influential bodies as councils of labor and war veterans, women's councils, the Soviet Cultural Foundation, the V.I. Lenin Soviet Children's Fund, and others.

It means the intensification of the role of people's control.

It means acuteness, topicality, and depth in the work of the mass media.

It means the election of leading cadres and the expansion of the practice of certification and competitions in resolving cadre questions, without exceeding the extensive rights granted labor collectives by the law on socialist enterprises.

Democratic principles in the activities of trade unions, the Komsomol, creative unions, and voluntary societies and organizations are deepening.

Major improvements are taking place in the work of soviets of people's deputies. I am sure that you have will all have noted with satisfaction how quickly regimentation, formalism, and ostentation are disappearing from USSR Supreme Soviet sessions, how much more professionalism and open debate there is in them, and how strictly deputies have started to take representatives of executive power, ministers, and other leaders to task.

Citizens' growing public activeness was also vividly brought out by this year's campaign for elections to local soviets and for people's judges. This was a major test for many leading cadres. By no means all of them passed it.

The ranks of deputies have been more than half renewed. There have been particularly great changes in those okrugs where, as an experiment, the elections were held on the multiseat system. A number of soviet leaders were not elected.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is obvious: All leaders must clearly realize that they are elected by the people, are under the people's control, and work for the people, and should constantly prove this every day through their actual work.

The democratization process is not proceeding without contradictions. Although it is supported by virtually everyone, by no means everyone understands it correctly. Certain citizens try to exploit it to settle personal or group scores, others use it to make unchecked and unconstructive criticism, or even for demagoguery, while others stress their rights and forget about their duties.

It should be remembered that democracy does not mean anarchy or arbitrariness. It releases no one from the need to obey the law or observe order and discipline. We have no rights without duties, there is no "freedom" from fulfilling one's civic, labor, or family duties, nor will there be any.

Lenin pointed that there can be no real democracy without glasnost. Today glasnost—that is, truthful, responsive, and open information about the work of party, soviet, and economic organs, and about the domestic and foreign policy of the party and state—is being asserted more and more strongly in our life.

True, this process is proceeding unevenly, and in certain places individual leaders are clearly biding their time and wondering whether things are not too frank and whether they will be properly understood.

Life convinces us that people always understand openness, accessibility, and truth properly. These things are an indicator of our strength rather than of weakness, they are an indispensable condition for the masses' interested participation in restructuring. Only those who are unhappy about the fresh wind of change blowing over the country are unreceptive to glasnost.

At the present stage of restructuring particular attention should be paid to questions of combating negative phenomena.

The party is setting the task of resolutely ridding itself of everything that runs counter to the norms of Soviet communal life. Acquisitiveness, money-grubbing, over-reporting, and window dressing often exist alongside examples of high conscientiousness and organization.

Working people justifiably complain about shortcomings and abuses in the sphere of services to the population, particularly in trade, public catering, health care, and transportation.

Labor collectives, social organizations, and law enforcement organs must join forces more closely in the struggle against violations of socialist legality.

We have no right to ignore the considerable damage being done to society by drunkenness and drug-taking.

The role of law enforcement organs and medicine in the struggle against this malicious social disease is undoubtedly great. We are right to make serious claims on them today.

But they struggle more against the effect than the cause. We need creative work to assert a healthy way of life and to develop the leisure, culture, and educational spheres.

What can your city of Frunze, for example, offer today in this respect? My impression is—very little. Work in this area must be stepped up, the material base of the sociocultural sphere must be strengthened, and the demands on cadres increased.

There has long been a strong and healthy atmosphere in our country typified by mutual respect and trust in relations between nations and ethnic groups. The friendship among our country's peoples is a powerful motive force for Soviet society's economic, social, and spiritual development and an inalienable part of the socialist philosophy.

At the same time, all these achievements by no means indicate that our national relations are problem-free. You have such problems in your republic too.

The entire atmosphere of our social life should be imbued with the spirit of internationalism. Internationalism and Soviet patriotism are not just words, they are first and foremost actions: They indicate a stepping up of the contribution to the all-union economy, science, and culture, the timely and high-quality fulfillment of shipments to fraternal republics, and the broad exchange of cadres. Soviet people's genuine national pride stems from their sense of love for their native land and their awareness that they belong to the entire Soviet people.

We are carrying out comprehensive restructuring, including in foreign policy. Here too over the past 2 and 1/2 years a great deal has changed or is starting to change.

Quite recently the entire world welcomed the agreement in principle to eliminate two classes of Soviet and U.S. nuclear arms—medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. This means that a major step may be taken toward real nuclear disarmament—the first step in the entire postwar period.

M.S. Gorbachev's Murmansk speech reaffirmed Soviet foreign policy's orientation toward detente, the reduction of arms levels, and the creation of a comprehensive security system. This speech, which was an example of new political thinking, put forward new initiatives—in particular, on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe and the coordination of the Nordic countries' environmental protection activities—and voiced the idea of working out a unified Northern European energy program.

We realize that the peoples will judge the potential of socialism and its socioeconomic effectiveness on the basis of the results of our restructuring within the USSR. That is why Soviet people, all of us, each one of us—as genuine masters of our country—are called upon to join more actively in implementing democratization and economic reform and to consistently assert the lofty principles of social justice and socialist morality.

In conclusion, A.P. Biryukova congratulated all those present on the coming holiday—the Great October jubilee—and wished them great successes in their lives and work. [passage omitted]

Addresses Ministry

PM181201 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGHIZIA
in Russian 28 Oct 87 pp 1,2

[KIRTAG report: "Vigor of Practical Actions For Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] An expanded session of the republic's Ministry of Light Industry collegium was held 25 October in the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers. Directors, secretaries from party organizations, trade union committee chairmen, enterprise and association Komsomol committee secretaries, senior workers from the Frunze party gorkom and raykoms, gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, leaders of the republic's ministries and departments, and senior workers from the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers, the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, and Tsentosoyuz took part in it. [passage omitted]

A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed the meeting.

The present session, she said, is taking place immediately after the CPSU Central Committee October Plenum. One key thought runs through the report delivered at the plenum by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of our party's Central Committee, and his other speeches: The country has embarked on a phase when the ideas of restructuring are being translated into practical actions. The center of gravity of all the efforts of party, soviet, and economic organs is shifting toward the implementation of the political, economic, and organizational decisions which have been elaborated. The main thing in this

work is the consistent implementation of the process of democratization in the political sphere and public life and the radical restructuring of the management system in the economic sphere.

Therefore, A.P. Biryukova continued, it was quite natural to expect that today's session would carry out a profound analysis of enterprises' and associations' experience of working under the conditions of the new economic mechanism and would discuss future problems and the tasks arising from the economic reform. Unfortunately, these expectations were only partially warranted. Neither the information report delivered by Comrade Minister Tentiyeu nor the speeches—with a few exceptions—made a sufficiently critical and self-critical analysis of the state of affairs, nor were the requisite assessments and conclusions drawn from the practice of labor collectives' work on the basis of principles of complete economic accountability [khozaschet] and self-financing. The main thing is that I have not seen a well-organized program: How will the ministry act next year to ensure that all enterprises unconditionally fulfill the supply targets for goods at retail prices and to secure in physical terms the prescribed plan profit?

I do not by any means intend to deny certain positive results in the work of Kirghizia's light industry over the 18 months which have elapsed since my previous visit to your republic. According to my observations and also in the opinion of trade workers, the range of a number of goods, especially fabrics, has somewhat expanded and the quality of some manufactured articles has increased. But this is perhaps all that you can put to your credit.

If your work is assessed with reference to current demands—and these have been clearly expounded in party documents as follows: make effective use of the production potential which has been created and skillful use of the potential of the new economic mechanism, substantially update the range and increase the quality of manufactured articles—then the assessment is unsatisfactory at the present.

A.P. Biryukova then cited figures illustrating this conclusion. The volume of contracted supplies in the first 9 months of this year has been fulfilled only by 97.3% and consumers failed to receive output worth R19.1 million. One in three enterprises in the Kirghiz Ministry of Light Industry has not fulfilled the plan for producing output in physical terms. As a result the sector has on the whole not met the targets for 7 of the 18 most important branded products. In the first 9 months of this year there has been great overspending on manufacturing costs and the profits plan has not been fulfilled. Thus R9 million, or three times the profits shortfall, have been paid out in fines for contractual supply shortfalls and low output quality.

Only one conclusion can be drawn from this: The republic's Ministry of Light Industry, enterprises, and associations were not ready for the new style economic activity

and were unable to use the levers of complete economic accountability and self-financing. Not only did the activity of a whole series of enterprises not improve but it even considerably deteriorated in comparison with 1986.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary analyzed in detail the state of affairs at the Osh Cotton Association and the Osh sewn goods plant, which have found themselves in a serious financial situation. The association, which accounts for one-fifth of all output produced by the republic's ministry, fulfilled the profits plan by only 31% in the first 9 months of this year, and almost all the plant's profit was "swallowed up" in increased costs. It is understandable that this cannot fail to have an impact on the material prosperity of the labor collectives mentioned: For if there is no profit then material incentive, sociocultural, and production development funds cannot be formed. One wonders how these and similar collectives intend to live if they continue to work with these results?

Stepping up the economy drive, reducing the prime cost of output produced, and constant economic, financial, and commercial analysis are a necessary condition for activity under the new conditions of economic management. Otherwise not only will there not be the wherewithal to successfully resolve questions of the retooling of production and the social development of collectives, but there will also not be funds to pay wages.

The time of wastefulness and licence, when negligent economic managers could freely pick the state's pocket and as they did so put the blame on higher ranking organs, saying they were not being allocated funds and capital investments—that time has gone never to return.

We are right to expect good results from you in financial activity, A.P. Biryukova continued. For it may be said that preferential conditions have been created by way of an exception for the Kirghiz SSR Ministry of Light Industry. The normative for paying profit into the budget has been fixed for you at the level of 21.2%, at a time when this indicator is considerably higher in other republics, and totals on average 65.6% throughout the USSR Ministry of Light Industry.

As you can see, your enterprises will have much more profit left but this concession will not be available in the next 5-year plan, and the normative will be nearer the average union normative. Therefore this advantage must be used sensibly and intelligently and everything must be done to overcome the lag in the near future and draw level with all the country's light industry enterprises.

Unfortunately, the situation is slow to change, something of which my present visit to your republic has convinced me. Visits to enterprises and conversations with specialists show that a considerable number of leading cadres, workers, team leaders, and foremen have a feeble grasp of the essence of restructuring economic

management and do not know the details of the new economic mechanism, nor are they making use of the rights which they are granted by the Law on the State Enterprise, since they are not aware of these rights. Yet the sector has been switched to the principles of economic accountability and self-financing since January this year.

During my last visit this poor knowledge of the principles of the new economic mechanism could have been explained precisely by its newness and by lack of experience, A.P. Biryukova said. But why has there only been an insignificant improvement in the situation today? Obviously comrades in the ministries and departments who are responsible for cadre training have been irresponsible. And it is obviously no accident that some leaders during recent conversations in Kirghizia could not answer elementary economic and financial questions. How can they lead under the new conditions?

The CPSU Central Committee secretary drew the attention of the session's participants to the need for the serious and profound organization of universal economic education from ministry leaders to enterprise workers. Some comrades are not averse to flaunting their knowledge of resolutions and newspapers, however, they are nonplussed when it is necessary to resolve a specific economic situation at the enterprise, in the workshop, at the section, and in the team. But if the leader does not know how economic indicators "work," he will not be able to rectify the situation. Universal economic education together with the development of socialist democracy provides a good opportunity for bringing the human factor more fully into play. Modern technical thinking among workers and specialists must be developed, and not only must their proposals be heeded but useful innovations must also be introduced more quickly.

The speaker then dwelled on questions of the Kirghiz Ministry of Light Industry's fulfillment of the targets of the Comprehensive Program for the Development of Consumer Goods Production and the Services Sphere. The ministry is not fulfilling these targets and moreover a lag in the production of a number of articles has already set in at the annual plan formation stage. This practice is continuing. The draft plan for 1988 has once again set lower production volumes for most articles than Comprehensive Program targets. This approach does not match up to party social policy, which envisages saturating the market with varied goods and services. Under modern conditions where the problem of balancing commodity resources and the population's monetary income has become extremely exacerbated, this approach is doubly inadmissible.

The Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee must reinforce party control over the progress of the execution of the Comprehensive Program, offer the necessary help to ministries and departments, and demand that the program indicators for all the most important goods are at the level planned for 1988 and even higher.

The program targets must be viewed as minimum targets and the republic's Council of Ministers and Gosplan must ensure that everything planned is strictly fulfilled.

The main cause of the sector's poor work is the unsatisfactory use of production capacities and manpower resources. The return on capital is continuing to fall, although this process has come to a halt throughout the country as a whole. Considerably worse use is being made of equipment than on average in the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, and in many enterprises whole sections are working practically on one shift. While failing to exploit your own capacities to the full, A.P. Biryukova pointed out, you are importing one-fourth of the market allocation of sewn articles, one-third of footwear, and one-fifth of knitwear from other regions.

Keeping cadres in production and boosting their skills is an important reserve for improving the work of light industry. The sector's cadre turnover is increasing, which is largely explained by the slow resolution of social questions, above all the housing question. The ministry leadership and its collegium are obviously underestimating the importance of these questions. Even the capital investments allocated are not being fully assimilated from one year to the next. The Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers must call the leaders of ministries and departments strictly to account and must at the same time aid the resolution of this serious problem to make practical progress.

The speaker then devoted great attention to questions of improving output quality. The party has set the task of boosting the technical standard and quality of manufactured goods as rapidly as possible to meet the demands of the highest world standards. A package of large-scale measures now being implemented in the country are oriented toward this.

Customers' demand for high-quality goods is growing, but Kirghizia is meeting this requirement poorly. We cannot accept the fact that the proportion of improved quality goods bearing the "N" index and of particularly fashionable goods in the overall production volume has even decreased in the republic over the last 2 years. There are extremely few particularly fashionable goods being produced here—they represent 2.8% of the total, which is almost half the average union figure in light industry.

The situation with regard to the quality of many types of output is extremely unsatisfactory. In the first 6 months of this year the quantity of silk textiles and woollen textiles whose quality was downgraded and which were returned to be put right was respectively twice and nearly six times as high as in the same period last year. Many unmarketable old goods are being delivered and people are not buying them, although there is a shortage of commodity resources. What will you do if there's an abundance of goods? You are bad at selling even the few

high quality goods which are manufactured in Kirghizia. Even specialists and leaders of enterprises and associations and leading workers in the republic's Ministry of Light Industry and Ministry of Trade do not know, for instance, what is the normal increase on the list price for goods with the "N" index and what is the normal increase for particularly fashionable goods sold at contracted prices.

To sum up what she had said, the CPSU Central Committee secretary singled out three main elements. Above all the assimilation of the new economic mechanism must be tackled properly—on a theoretical and instructive level and, what is particularly important, on a practical level. Good economic, financial, and commercial work by enterprises and associations is the most important condition today for labor collectives' prosperity, illustrating success in the most important subject—economic restructuring.

In 1988 there must not be a single enterprise in the republic which fails to fulfill the profits plan. Otherwise it may be a question of eliminating insolvent enterprises, something which has been provided for by the Law on the State Enterprise. I think, A.P. Biryukova noted, that you will not want to be among the "frontrunners" in this respect. For this would involve party assessment of the activity of leading cadres of all levels.

Furthermore, measures to boost the efficiency of the use of the production potential which has been created must be urgently adopted. We must not continue to construct new enterprises at a time when capacities at existing enterprises are underloaded, the shift index is low, and equipment stoppages are great. It is especially inadmissible when highly productive equipment, sometimes purchased with currency, is standing idle.

There are no objective obstacles to boosting the republic's light industry to the all-union level. Only one thing is needed—to enhance cadres' order, discipline, responsibility, and economic and financial culture. Negligent people must be called strictly to account—legal, moral, and also economic. It is necessary to be bolder in imposing financial penalties on the guilty parties responsible for disrupting the fulfillment of the plan, idle equipment, and production of shoddy goods. You will not make a breakthrough by admonishments alone. It is necessary for the party to step up its responsibility for the matter with which it has been entrusted and step up party support for restructuring in work at all levels—from worker to minister.

Finally, whereas reassuring prospects with regard to textiles and sewn goods do nonetheless exist despite the present difficulties, the same cannot be said as yet about footwear. The republic's Ministry of Light Industry together with the USSR Ministry of Light Industry must

tackle in earnest the status of this subsector and determine concrete measures to overcome this hitch. The Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers must also render substantial assistance on this question.

In conclusion A.P. Biryukova stressed that the present breakthrough stage of restructuring makes extremely high demands on everyone, but above all on leaders. They will be assessed not on their assurances, not on their words and promises, but on concrete practical results.

We must work more vigorously, more boldly, and more competently, secure new successes in executing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 12th 5-Year Plan targets, and approach the 19th All-union Party Conference with good achievements.

In the course of the session, A.P. Biryukova commented on some of the speakers' proposals and requests and answered their questions. It was emphasized that particular attention is now being devoted to the retooling of the sector, but the latest equipment has not yet arrived and so existing potential must be used more efficiently and the production of spare parts at the republic's machine building enterprises must be organized more efficiently. Especially since in years to come enterprises themselves will begin to be interested in seeking partners to ensure that production capacities are fully loaded by producing output which does not form part of the state order but which production and the people needs.

Attention was paid to new approaches to processing leather raw materials. Skins must be freshly processed at meat combines, thus obtaining semimanufactures which can be stored and transported to leather factories without detriment to quality. All this will not require particularly large expenditure. Even at large meat combines the cost of constructing such a workshop to treat skins does not exceed R1.5 million and this work pays for itself in 15 months. Furthermore only the simplest equipment—2 scraping machines and 7-8 drums—is required and moreover all the equipment is of Soviet manufacture. It is also possible to organize its production in Kirghizia.

All meat combines must be equipped with such workshops and traditional thinking and inculcated habits must be rejected and everything guaranteeing an improvement in the quality of leather goods introduced more boldly.

To conclude the session A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party, stressed the need for serious restructuring in the activity of the republic's Ministry of Light Industry, its collegium, and leaders of enterprises and associations. Many comrades have only a poor knowledge of economics and moreover this reproach can also be partly applied to workers in Gosplan, the Council of Ministers, and the Central Committee. Today it is not words that are needed but

practical actions and study and more study is necessary in order to successfully resolve questions arising and overcome difficulties. Each and every man must study.

Leaders of enterprises located in large cities and especially in the republic's capital bear great responsibility. They must not resign themselves to the fact that there are backward enterprises even in Frunze. Leaders of the party gorkom and gorispolkom must organize effective sponsorship for lagging enterprises by the frontrunners. Examples of this do exist. In particular, the "40 years of October" sewn goods plant collective has greatly helped the "1 May" Association. This useful practice must be expanded by every means.

There are great reserves in the republic's light industry, many lie literally on the surface, but we do not notice them as leadership is often carried out in general terms, as they say, but little attention is devoted to concrete economics. A.P. Biryukova drew attention to this during her visit to the enterprises of Osh and Frunze, and we must all draw the necessary conclusions.

We must reinforce ties between the sector's enterprises and trade and consider more fully people's changing requirements, and produce more good-quality, fashionable, fine goods. The Ministry of Light Industry and Comrade Minister Tentiyeu must personally show the necessary initiative.

Two- and three-shift work at enterprises must be ensured. Resolutions have been adopted on this score and schedules fixed and there must be no delay in the matter. But at the same time the problem of the supply and installation of new highly productive equipment must be resolved since this is what guarantees the impact of multishift work.

The success of the work will depend on the cadres. Of course, they must be shown attention and tolerance and must be helped. But those who cannot restructure themselves under the new conditions must indisputably be got rid of. The demand made on cadres will be tough because it is necessary in the shortest period of time to resolve the main task—considerably improving the work of light industry and making a more substantial contribution to the development of the country's unified economic complex.

The following took part in the work of the session: A. Dzhumagulov, V.A. Ryabokon, N.I. Semonov, and U.K. Chinaliyev, members of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; E. Abakirov, candidate member of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; and V.A. Dolgov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Light Industry and Consumer Goods Department sector.

Dolgikh Article on October Revolution

BK091615 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Special 87 issue, pp 11-23

[Article "Great October and the Era" by Vladimir Dolgikh, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] World history is full of memorable dates and outstanding events. Yet, because of its scope and profound impact on mankind's civilization, the Great October Socialist Revolution has held a special place in those dates and events. It opened a new era for the struggle to liberate the nations from capitalist oppression and to advance toward socialism and communism.

With the capitalist exploiting system smashed by the October Revolution, 1917 mankind took the first step toward a society free from social inequality, injustice, war, and weapons. Ever since the emergence of those memorable dates, the worldwide historic significance of the October Revolution has become more and more evident with each passing year.

Far from being "a side step of history" as the chieftains of the old exploiting system had predicted, October formed the key path of history. It deprived imperialism of the right to determine the fate of the world and the nations, shook the structures of capitalism, which were believed to be ever-lasting and unchangeable, and further aggravated the overall crisis of capitalism. Meanwhile, the birth of the worker-peasant state served as a shining revolutionary example and a source of encouragement for the laboring people worldwide and enabled the oppressed peoples of the colonies to smash the shackles and chains of slavery, to obtain considerable concessions, and to improve their lot.

The socialist era began in 1917. Socialism first started in one country and has now become a worldwide system. Following the first socialist country, other socialist countries have come into existence and formed a powerful and strong socialist community comprising various nations. Compared with the beginning of the 20th century when imperialism had its overall battlefield broken through on one continent, now socialist countries exist on three continents of our planet. When the socialist system was first established, it made up one-sixth of the world's surface and approximately 8% of the world population, now the socialist countries occupy one-fourth of the world surface and account for approximately one-third of the world's population. The economic potentials of socialism have been doubled. In 1917, Soviet industrial production accounted for no more than 3% of world industrial production. Now, the industrial production of the socialist countries accounts for more than 40% of the world industrial production. As predicted by V.I. Lenin, socialism has become an international force "capable of exerting a decisive influence on the overall international political situation." (Footnote 1) (*V.I. Lenin: Complete Works*, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, pp 41, 202.)

October has shed light on the development of the international communist movement which has now become the most influential ideological and political force of the era. According to great Lenin, the existence of a political party provides the fundamental basis for the proletariat to seize power. Ten years after the October revolution, communist parties existed in only 46 countries with nearly 1.7 million party members. Now, communist parties are operating in 95 countries with nearly 85 million party members.

The October Revolution has dealt a deadly blow to the colonialist system of imperialism. Commenting on the great impact of Lenin's concepts about the development of the national liberation movement in the colonies, Ho Chi Minh, the outstanding son of the Vietnamese people, stressed: "Lenin was the first to understand and value the overall importance of the attempts to rally the colonial nations in the revolutionary movement and the first to point out that there can be no social revolution without the participation of the colonial nations." Scores of independent and young nations have emerged where there used to be colonies. Those nations now occupy nearly 60% of the surface of our planet and account for more than half of the world's population. They are the masters of their own fate and are making history all by themselves.

Great October has become the glorious historic victory of Marxist-Leninist ideologies. These ideologies are the only correct compass in the struggle to win a victory for the socialist revolution and to the building of a new society. The Bolshevik party founded by Lenin combined scientific socialism with the workers movement, led the armed uprising of the Russian proletariat; organized the defense of revolutionary gains against enemy violations both at home and abroad; and guided the country along the path of socioeconomic progress. For the first time in history, the Bolshevik party assumed the duty of organizing revolutionary activities to change the orientation of millions of people.

After smashing the counterrevolutionary force in the country and foreign armed intervention, the laboring people of Soviet Russia started the main duty of the revolution, the creative task of transforming society along the socialist line and of building the economy to serve as the first base for the life of millions of people. "V.I. Lenin stressed—to build the country economically..." (Footnote 2) (cited book, page 483)

By creatively applying the fundamental principles of scientific communism to the specific conditions of Russia that has been freed from the capitalist shackles, and using his inherent profound and clear-sighted thinking, the leader of the revolution set forth the theoretical bases of socialist construction. Lenin's viewpoint originated from the people's positive participation in the management of all social duties and from the objective necessity for the party's guiding organizational role and its political and ideological leadership.

Lenin's arguments about paying full attention to the laws of the economy, about economic planning and accounting, and about skillfully using the goods-money relation and material and spiritual stimulations in dealing with the practical tasks of socialist construction are extremely significant. Although 70 years or so have elapsed, these ideologies still remain the correct compass for the CPSU to operate and lead the national economy.

Just as V.I. Lenin had foreseen the effect of socialism on the development of the world revolutionary process mainly through its achievements in economic construction, the destiny of the world, the fate of human society's progress can be settled primarily in the area of economic and technological competition between the two systems. "The struggle has shifted to this area around the world. When we can complete this task, we will win a sure and decisive victory in the world." (Footnote 3) (*V.I. Lenin: Complete Works*, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, pages 43 and 410)

Under the party's leadership, within a short historic period the Soviet people have achieved unprecedented reforms in the political, economic, social, and spiritual domains. It is understandable that the past 70 years were not a path strewn with roses for the Soviet state. This was the path of the struggle between the new and the old. This was the path rife with serious mistakes, erroneous plans, and personal idolatry. Over the past 70 years of the Soviet administration, we had to go through two destructive wars and restore a destroyed economy. Led by the party, the Soviet people have strictly followed the path established by Lenin.

Industrialization has established the material and technical bases for the new society, placed the Soviet Union among the powerful industrial powers, and laid the foundation for Soviet national defense capability. Even at the end of the first 5-year plan, the Soviet Union already ranked first in Europe and the second in the world in terms of total industrial production volume.

The capitalist countries had to take many decades to accomplish such tasks.

In rural areas, instead of small-scale and scattered production by peasants there was large-scale cooperativized production. Lenin's cooperativization plan—a component of the general strategy to build a new society—led peasants on the right path to socialism. The worker-peasant alliance was built on a firm and strong socioeconomic foundation.

The cultural revolution made it possible for a majority of the population to become literate and opened the road widely for the laboring people to tap the spiritual assets which mankind has accumulated. The socialist intelligentsia came into being. The Marxist-Leninist ideological system was established as the dominant ideological system in the Soviet people's thought.

In the course of socialist construction, rapid economic, social, and cultural progress were secured in the former border areas of the people of various nationalities in Russia. For the first time in history, the people of all nationalities and tribes became equal and formed a unique international community within the framework of a unified federal state. The Soviet people had to face many great challenges during the 1941-45 period when the Soviet Union was preventing the advance of fascism which, by that time, had actually enslaved the whole of Europe. The victory at the end of that big war saved not only the Soviet people but European and world civilization as well. Was there any other regime that could withstand such a war and then emerge from the ruins of thousands of cities and villages and successfully restore its damaged economy? The socialist regime, the product of great October, has vividly demonstrated its vitality.

All these achievements demonstrate the effectiveness of the concrete and creative actions in the land of Great October and are the pride of the Soviet people who highly value each year that has gone by in their 70-year history and take pride in their mission of being the vanguard of socialist construction and the inventor of a new kind of civilization.

The value of any socioeconomic regime is measured by the wealth and advantages it has given to its people and by the contributions it has made to consolidating mankind's development. Socialism, which had its origin in the Soviet Union, has demonstrated its worldwide significance and superiority over capitalism. The success of Great October and the achievements in building a new society have shown that capitalism, labor exploitation, and private appropriation of labor results are not "ever-lasting" institutions. Standing at opposite ends are capitalist social structure versus socialist social structure, the private ownership system versus the collective ownership system, individualistic morality versus collective morality, and worship of militarism and military strength versus political reason and a policy of peace and development.

The socialist regime gives the laboring people real power in state and social affairs and ensures that people are free to work for themselves and the society. It guarantees sufficient employment opportunities, social security, and a secure future. It respects fundamental human rights not through words but through concrete deeds and ensures mutual assistance in accordance with the spirit of comradeship. Under the socialist regime, people are guaranteed appropriate material well-being: adequate housing; state-provided health care; free medical care for pregnant women; free assistance to children and the elderly; easy access to general education and cultural activities; equal rights between people of different social strata and social groups; and equality between people of different nationalities and tribes.

During the 70 years following Great October, the Soviet Union has recorded achievements of truly historic significance in its political and socioeconomic development. The national income has increased by nearly 150

times compared with 1917. The gross industrial production output has increased by 330 times, and the gross agricultural production output has expanded by 5.5 times. Actual per capita income exceeds that of the prewar period (1941) by 6.8 times.

Firmly grasping the results and lessons learned during a 70-year trip, our party and people clearly realize that the road was full of both great achievements and serious miscalculations. During the seventies and in the early eighties, the nation missed an opportunity for further development. Difficulties and unsolved problems started to pile up. Factors that eroded society became evident. Trends unknown to socialism emerged. All those incidents led to sluggishness and further aggravated the contradictions in the area of social development. Propelled by inertia, the economy continued to develop in width and became less sensitive to scientific and technological innovations. The social management and production control system became cumbersome and inactive. An authoritarian mechanism emerged and hindered socioeconomic development. Bureaucratism and red tape were prevalent. Violations of party and state discipline and other negative phenomena began to emerge.

The causes of those phenomena did not rest with the nature of socialism but with a failure to stay close to socialism. The socialist system has great vitality and is capable of constant self-improvement. Yet, our overall experience clearly shows that this system does not develop its great capabilities and strengths by itself. The building of a new society calls for a creative concept in the field of theory and practice and the resolve to give up commandism and old-fashioned habits and methods and requires efforts to work out effective measures aimed at bringing into play the positiveness and creativity of millions of people.

In light of these conditions, the CPSU Central Committee realized the need to achieve positive and fundamental changes in the political and economic as well as social and spiritual fields, trying to push the country along a renovating path. This took place at the CPSU Central Committee's Fifth Plenum in April (1985). The plenum declared a policy to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development and reform and qualitatively improve all areas of Soviet society. On the basis of profoundly analyzing in a Marxist-Leninist fashion all the objective evolutionary laws of Soviet society, the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee's plenums held in January and June (1987), as already expounded in their respective resolutions, came up with the idea of achieving perfection and with a strategy for achieving fundamental changes in the welfare, political, and socioeconomic fields of the Soviet Union in the interests of making full use of the latent potentials of socialism, improving the people's welfare, and strengthening the Soviet Union's position in the world.

As Mr M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, put it: "The reform now undertaken in the country is a direct succession to the October undertaking and is a consistent materialization of those ideals charted under the banner of our revolution which we are going to celebrate its 70th anniversary this year. Reform is the answer to a historic challenge of our time. Our party and our people can meet this challenge just as we did this following the completion of our Great Socialist Revolution and our socialist construction and following the gaining of our victory of internationally historic significance during our great war of national defense."

The reform, inspired by the party, is now taking place under the party leadership. This is to restore the creative spirit of Leninism and thus serve as an example of political boldness and acumen. This testifies to the fact that the Soviet ship of state is being steered by a party that fully realizes its responsibility toward the destiny of socialism, that represents the people's basic interests, and that has the ability to ensure the constant progress of society and to promptly do away with everything considered outdated and incorrect constraining advancement. What do we know about reform? First, it involves a determination to do away with the state of sluggishness and to create a reliable and effective mechanism capable of stepping up the socioeconomic development of the Soviet society. The main purposes of reform are to integrate the fruits of the scientific-technical revolution into the national economy in a planned manner and to mobilize all the latent potentials of socialism to ensure constant improvement of the role of those in-depth factors in economic development, to restore and develop Leninist principles about democratic centralism in the management of the national economy. It is necessary to point out here that in developing and perfecting democratic principles, frankness and openness—which play a core role in reform—are very important for attracting all people to the management of social activities.

Reform means a complete turn toward science, trying to truly link science with reality in order to attain the highest end-results. It also shows an interest in further developing the latent potentials of science. In the Soviet Union, there are over 5,000 institutes and organs that deal with science and nearly 1,800 project planning and technical work designing organizations. Over 4.5 million people are working in the fields of science and scientific services. Reform must be carried out in such a way to ensure that these latent potentials are fully exploited in order to help solve the main problems now facing the country.

Reform here implies giving priority to developing the social field, meeting in an ever-more complete manner the Soviet people's demands for working, living, recreation, training, and medical care. It is necessary to care for and give regular attention to the spiritual well-being and the educational level of each person and of the entire society as well as to those practical measures now being

taken to do this task. In addition to those plans already approved for consolidating material bases of the social sector, nearly 40 billion rubles have been set aside for use in the present 5-year plan. One of the main tasks now being resolved is to ensure that each family will have a private dwelling or a private home by the year 2000.

Reform implies a determination to make society free from distortions of socialist ethics and to positively exercise principles of social justice. This requires that one's words must match one's own deeds and that there must be a harmony between authority and responsibility. This also involves upholding genuine labor with high output and doing away with a tendency to favor egalitarianism in remunerating for work done and with consumerism.

In our country, there are bases for going ahead with the whole restructuring process. The strong economic, scientific-technological, and intellectual potentials created during the years under the Soviet administration allow us to move forward not in some specific directions but on the entire front of social progress.

The party has set the task of switching within a short historic period of time to a planned and highly efficient economy and doubling the country's productive capacity by the year 2000 by basically improving its technological level. The resolution adopted at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum held in June this year is aimed at realizing these objectives. This plenum was an event of great political and socioeconomic significance. This is due first of all to the fact that the thoughts and practical guidelines of the plenum are related to the restructuring and consolidation of our society's foundation—the socialist economy. The documents approved at the plenum, which develop to an even higher degree of creativeness the party's line for restructuring and acceleration, profoundly asserted the feasibility of basic restructuring in the economic domain.

This restructuring is aimed at reorienting economic development from intermediate results to final results that are of significance in the social field, transforming scientific-technological advances and the economical use of resources into key factors for developing social production, and ensuring the organic combination of the interests of society, the collective, and each individual laborer. The true essence of the new enterprise system is to shift from leadership methods that are mainly administrative to economic leadership methods and to the broad democratization of leadership, and develop by all means the human factor and socialist resourcefulness.

This is the most profound and largest economic restructuring in the history of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. It is of a comprehensive nature, encompassing all material production sectors, all levels of leadership over material production, and all key levers of the economic mechanism.

The inception of the new management system stems first of all from the need to create the most favorable economic conditions for the effective operation of the national economy's fundamental link which is composed of socialist enterprises. To achieve this goal regulations have been adopted to broaden by a considerable degree the independence of enterprises, effect a shift to full economic accountability and self-procurement of capital, and enhance their sense of responsibility for honoring the commitments made toward consumers. It has been established that the income level of the collective and the capacity for resolving social tasks are directly decided by the result of the collective's final work. The statutes, rights, and obligations of enterprises, the fundamental principles of business, and the broad participation of the laboring masses in management are spelled out in the Law of State Enterprises (Associations) which was passed at the seventh session of the USSR Supreme Soviet after being discussed by the entire people.

Another important orientation is to radically restructure economic leadership and enhance its quality, with attention focused on key issues to determine the strategies, tempo, and rates for intensifying development of the national economy depthwise. Therefore, various ministries have experienced fundamental changes in their functions. Ministries must become the staff organs of sectors in the scientific-technological and planning-economic fields, do away with their inconsequential sponsorship for enterprises, and be held fully responsible for meeting the country's demand for suitable products.

What is of great significance is the radical restructuring of planning—the main instrument for carrying out economic policies—as well as the improvement in price fixing, the financial-credit mechanism, material-technical supply, management of scientific-technological advances, management of social progress, and management of external economic relations.

The fundamental readjustment of the system for setting labor norms and paying wages has also been raised for enforcement. Here, there are three aspects of special importance. First, it is necessary to completely do away with "egalitarianism" in remuneration which has spread widely among enterprises and become a serious impediment to the effort to further increase labor productivity and improve product quality; second, it is necessary to observe correct rates of remuneration for different types of laborers and maintain certain priorities for persons working under more complex production conditions and in unpopulated areas; and third, it is necessary to put into practice a new concept of material incentives according to which the possibility of wage increases is directly dependent on the enterprise's economic activities and is funded with the money realized by the laboring collective. All this is aimed at implementing more fully the following principle of socialism: To work according to one's capability and to earn according to one's work.

Shifting the economy to the new system of management and business is not a temporary act but a process with various stages. Starting from 1988, all enterprises belonging to various industrial sectors, which currently account for nearly two-thirds of the gross product, and the transportation sector will operate on the basis of full economic accounting with self-acquired funds. The task of shifting to these operational principles will conclude definitely in 1989.

We will have to carry out a colossal organizational task to embark on the subsequent 5-year plan with a well-disposed and effective economic mechanism. The absolutely indispensable condition for a successful performance of this task is the effort to improve the professional and political levels of cadres, thus enabling them to most quickly grasp the modern methods of leadership and instill in all laborers a desire to work under a new style with maximum efficiency and productivity and a high sense of responsibility toward their assignments.

In restructuring economic management, our party has set forth a task of historic significance, that is, to vigorously accelerate the process of social renovation and comprehensively develop its quality in accordance with the spirit of the revolution, a process that was initiated by the Great October Revolution.

Our country has gone almost one-third of the path under the itinerary of the 12th 5-year plan and has scored certain achievements along that path. The rate of industrial growth has surpassed the tasks set forth for the 5-year plan with increased efficiency. The increase in overall production among the most important national economic sectors seems to have totally been ensured by the increase in labor productivity. However, economic development still lacks necessary dynamism and high efficiency.

Life has taught us that we must dexterously combine the settlement of long-term issues with the performance of immediate specific tasks; this is also the question posed by Lenin. Today, the task of consolidating the sense of organization and responsibility in production by all disciplinary means and the task of improving the quality of products, increasing labor productivity, and unreservedly applying the system of economization are of special significance.

The success of the October Revolution marked the emergence of a new-style system of state, in terms of principle, and of a new-style democracy. A worker-peasant state was established for the first time in history. The Soviet political system has gone through extensive development; that system has also been improved and undergone new changes. After fulfilling its historic mission, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been changed into the administration of all laboring people while the proletarian state has been changed into the all-people state. The participation of the people in the management

of all national and social affairs has been stepped up and new forms of democracy based on representation and direct election have emerged.

Meanwhile, complexities and contradictions have also been revealed in the process of developing socialist democracy. It is impossible for us to ensure a correct combination of centralism and democracy at any time. The methods of management designed for a specific period of time have been mistakenly considered to be absolutely suitable to and maintained under a situation that has been changed.

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee plenum in January (1987) pointed out that only through the continuous development of various original forms of democracy of socialism and through the expansion of the system of self-management can we make a headway. Only through or by relying on the system of democracy can we effect self-reformation. Only in this way can we open up immense space to the mighty and creative forces of socialism. For this reason, measures are being adopted uniformly to expand the rights and enhance the role of Supreme Soviet deputies at all levels and consolidate relations between these deputies and the masses. A matter of special importance is that we must enhance the sense of responsibility of all local administrative organs over the task of ensuring comprehensive socioeconomic development in all regions, provinces, and cities aimed at more abundantly satisfying the needs of the people.

One of our country's primary tasks is to develop democracy in production, with the understanding that democracy encompasses three aspects: the active participation of various collectives in adopting and implementing all resolutions; the election of leaders from production unit leaders to general directors; and the maintenance and consolidation, on a democratic basis, of the one-manager system in the management of enterprises. The labor collective councils set up in enterprises must make an active effort to promote this task.

Today, restructuring is not only a political theory and motto but also a reality in our society. It has achieved moral and ideological success and popular support. This is hard evidence of the correctness of our chosen path and a guarantee of the irreversibility of the restructuring process once it has started.

Restructuring has proceeded both in width and depth, encompassing all the new layers of social life. Positive changes have taken place in development of the democratic system, achievement of a series of socioeconomic tasks, promotion of intellectual activities, and construction of a society that is more healthy morally. The main thing now is for us to increase the tempo of restructuring through all means, shifting its focus to careful and oriented development of organizational, political, and ideological work in all aspects of our domestic and foreign policies.

The present sociopolitical profile of our planet has been molded by the decisive effects of the historic changes initiated or encouraged by the October Revolution. The October Revolution has influenced the national liberation movement in continental Asia. Its shining example and Lenin's doctrine have strongly propelled the revolutionary movement even in Vietnam, in the latter's struggle against colonialist oppression. This road to freedom and independence was a long and tragic one. The Soviet people take pride in the fact that, in all stages of this struggle, Lenin's party always stood on the side of the heroic Vietnamese people.

The Soviet-Vietnamese relationship is a model of proletarian socialist internationalism in action. Today, the principles of internationalism not only determine the contents and forms of relations between the CPSU and the CPV, they guide relations between the USSR and the SRV in the political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural, and other fields. They have also become the common basis of action for our two countries in the international arena.

The moving force behind Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation is the unanimity between the CPSU and the CPV. The immutable characteristic of relations between our two parties is our profound mutual trust and comradely concern for each other's success. Over the past years, these relations have developed on a particularly large scale. Today, they encompass all levels—from the party central committees to basic party organizations. The regular meetings between CPSU and CPV leaders have been of foremost significance in the cooperation between our two parties. During these meetings there have been friendly and frank exchanges of views on the hottest issues of our time, and the basic issues of socialist and communist construction and strategic orientations have been determined for our coordinated actions.

The talks between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, held in May 1987, once again showed complete identity of views on all issues concerning bilateral relations and the world situation. The two sides expressed their wish to continue the policy of consolidating bilateral relations as stipulated in the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1978 and the Long-Term Program for Development of Economic, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation signed in 1983.

Over the past few decades, our economic, scientific, and technological cooperation has been marked by a comprehensive character and a significant scale. Suffice it to say that since the first documents were signed in 1955, the amount of goods exchanged between the two sides has increased by more than a few hundred times. As previously, the Soviet Union has sent machinery, various kinds of equipment, petroleum products, and consumer goods to Vietnam. In our country, our people have become quite familiar with Vietnam's traditional

exports such as natural rubber, tin, coffee, tea, and handicraft products. During those years, with Soviet assistance, Vietnam has built more than 250 projects of all types in all economic fields. As for the SRV's present potentials, we can judge from the activities of the Hanoi Machine Tool Factory; the Vietnamese-Soviet oil joint venture, which has begun to produce oil; the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant; and many other workshops and plants.

The potentials of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation are considerable. During the high-level talks in Moscow in May, it was stressed that the expanding scale of our two countries' coordinated efforts and the new approaches to the socioeconomic development problems set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress and the Sixth CPV Congress urgently call for a serious restructuring of all Soviet-Vietnamese relations and an improvement of their quality, along with stricter calculations of each other's needs and capabilities. To achieve this objective, our two countries are looking for new forms of coordinated actions in the economic field and are working to promote joint ventures and specialization in production and to broaden cooperation not only at the state level but also at the ministerial, united enterprise, and enterprise levels. Joint Soviet-Vietnamese ventures are being established in agriculture, industry, small industry, and transportation. We entertain high hopes for stepping up the development of economic and scientific relations between the far eastern region of the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Measures are also being applied to broaden cooperation in the production and processing of agricultural products and the production of consumer goods, and to develop in Vietnam fuel-energy complexes, communications and transportation, and even machine-making, electronics, chemicals, and mining industries.

As previously, our cooperation in training skilled workers and scientific and technical cadres still has great significance. At present, more than 30,000 young Vietnamese men and women are working at various Soviet factories and plants in our common interests. More than 3,000 Vietnamese candidate doctors and doctors of science have been trained in the Soviet Union. We are pleased to learn that graduates from Soviet colleges and universities are playing a significant role in the SRV's economic, educational, cultural, scientific, and public health services. Among them are ministers and leading enterprise cadres, and well-known party and state officials, scientists, economists, and social workers. Many of them are being retrained at the various academies of social sciences directly subordinate to the CPSU Central Committee and at the National Economic Academy directly subordinate to the Soviet Union Council of Ministers and at other Soviet colleges and universities. This form of cooperation represents no small source of manpower reserve for Vietnam in expeditiously raising the level of professionalism of its cadres and specialists without whom it will be impossible to successfully carry out the increasing tasks of socialist construction.

The USSR and SRV cooperate closely in promoting economic integration among CEMA member countries, in improving various economic systems, and in implementing the general program of scientific and technological advances. This will certainly help accelerate the development the SRV's national economy, thereby enabling the country to participate more broadly in the socialist international division of labor.

The Great October Revolution started the process of radically transforming the entire system of international relations. The Peace Decree was the first appeal addressed by the successful revolution to mankind. One of the most profound and effective ideas of Lenin was the concept of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems. In the world of today, there is no rational alternative to this concept. To mankind, a hot nuclear war will be suicidal. Nowadays, success in the struggle for mankind's survival is an indispensable condition for achieving any tasks—political, economic, social, or humanitarian. This is the essence of the new political thinking and the new philosophy of peace.

Basing ourselves on the resolutions of the 27th CPSU congress, we are actively and tirelessly struggling to prevent nuclear war, achieve disarmament, and build a comprehensive international security system. The peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union, which reflect the interests of the entire socialist community and progressive mankind, are aimed at liquidating all nuclear weapons and other mass destruction weapons before the year 2000 and settling world crises. These initiatives have won increasingly broader sociopolitical support in different parts of the world.

Socialism and peace are inseparable. As stressed by the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress, socialism absolutely rejects war as a means to solve political and economic contradictions and ideological disputes between countries. Our ideal is a world free of violence, a world in which each nation can freely choose its own path to development and its own way of life. This is a manifestation of humanitarianism of the communist ideology and its moral values. For this reason, even in the future, the main direction of our party's activity in the international arena will still be to struggle against the danger of nuclear war and the arms race, for the preservation and consolidation of common peace. The realization of this position will allow mankind to enter the 21st Century in the conditions of peace.

In its external political activities, the Soviet Union follows with keen interest the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, the homeland of more than half of mankind. In an address delivered in Vladivostok in July 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev put forward a peace-loving program of action intended for this part of the world that plays an important role in international life. This program was embodied and developed in the interview granted by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Indonesian paper

Merdeka. Our proposal for the liquidation of intermediate-range missiles in Europe has provoked widespread and positive reaction. In our firm belief, the realization of all our initiatives will bring about a radical change for the better in the climate of continental Asia and will raise the quality of this vast region's security to a new level. The consultative meeting of the Asia-Pacific communist and democratic-revolutionary parties in Ulaanbaatar in early July 1987 made a worthy contribution to achieving this lofty task.

Today, on the basis of the experiences of Europe and of other continents on our planet, and also on the basis of all the experiences of international life, we can say that the Soviet Union's general viewpoint on the issue of ensuring security of Asia and the Pacific has been accepted by all people in this region. Bilateral and multilateral consultations as well as unofficial exchanges of views in connection with this issue are taking place. In the course of these contacts, more and more consenting voices have been heard, creating in the region an atmosphere of good neighborliness and mutually beneficial cooperation. All this has convinced us that the suggestion made by the Soviet Union for holding in the future an all-Asia conference to exchange views and to seek together constructive measures will eventually become a reality. We propose that all Asian countries enforce this proposal on the basis of equal and constructive cooperation.

Our country proceeds from the position that all proposals aimed at achieving the aforementioned objective must become an integral part of the shaping of a security system and lasting peace in the Asia-Pacific region. In compliance with this internationalist idea, the Soviet Union has consistently supported the proposals made time and again by Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia to improve the situation in Southeast Asia and establish good neighborly relations with the ASEAN countries; supported Mongolia's initiative concerning the signing of a convention on nonaggression and nonuse of force in relations between Asian and Pacific countries; supported the DPRK's proposals for peaceful national unification; supported the constructive efforts of India and other countries in Asia. In the struggle to ensure peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region, the Soviet Union attaches great importance to supporting the Indochinese countries' efforts aimed at normalizing the situation around the PRK and consolidating this country's international stature. The constructive proposals made by Vietnam and Cambodia are also actively serving this objective.

We are convinced that in spite of the difficulties and the extremely diversified political and economic viewpoints in the region, the nations in the Asia-Pacific region will be able to create there an atmosphere of good neighborliness, friendship, and cooperation. The Soviet Union is prepared to act in coordination with anyone who sincerely wish to achieve these objectives.

Thus, for 70 years already the ideals of the October Revolution have urged us to work creatively and struggle self-denyingly for socialism and peace. The past decades have proven that the more powerful socialism is, the more lasting peace becomes. The Communist party and people of the Soviet Union greet the 70th anniversary of the Great October with singlemindedness. They are redoubling their efforts to accelerate socioeconomic development, to carry out restructuring, and to renovate all domains of social life. The coming anniversary of our motherland is not only a festive day but also an occasion for us to take stock of our forces and the achievements of socialism.

Together with other socialist countries, the Soviet Union and Vietnam are taking the lead in the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace, for freedom and independence, and for social progress. The Soviet people take pride in the high level of their fraternal relations with the heroic Vietnamese people.

The achievements of the Soviet Union, Socialist Vietnam, and all other socialist countries on the road to the grandiose objectives set by the great October Revolution are indisputable. Loyalty to the ideals of the October Revolution, with internationalism, and with Marxism-Leninism—this is an iron-clad guarantee of our coming successes.

More on Supreme Soviet Speeches

Latvia's Pugo

PM190941 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
21 Oct 87 p 2

[Speech by Deputy B.K. Pugo of Preylskiy Electoral Okrug, Latvian SSR, (first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee) delivered at 19 October afternoon session of USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies! The current session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is taking place in unusually emotional and memorable days, on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Time has revealed in depth its abiding importance and has illuminated the gigantic opportunities offered by socialist social development.

Great October lives on in our deeds today, in the revolutionary processes of restructuring.

The major and fundamentally important decisions adopted by the party following the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, which are supported by the people with keen interest, have armed people with the theory of restructuring and have mobilized them for far-reaching reforms and bold measures whose purpose is to invest socialism with the most modern forms of social organization.

These same goals are pursued by the drafts of next year's plan and budget. They were carefully studied and discussed by deputies in drafting commissions and, furthermore, this was done in considerably greater depth and with greater interest than in the past, and this has helped to make the drafts more purposeful and better oriented toward accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country and its component republics.

I believe that we are fully justified in approving the plan and budget with due consideration for the remarks made by the chambers' commissions.

Comrade Deputies! It goes without saying that the point of departure for the fulfillment of next year's plan is provided by the results which we achieve this year. It is no secret that this year's beginning was difficult. In Latvia, for instance, we did not eliminate the shortfall in industrial output and attain the planned growth rates until the third quarter.

Today we can boldly assert that the annual plan will be unconditionally fulfilled. The significant acceleration of agriculture's development is one of the most important results. The average annual volume of agricultural production has increased by a factor of 1.2 in the current 5-year plan period so far compared with the corresponding period of the previous 5-year plan. This year, and in spite of the very adverse weather conditions, yields amounted to almost 30 quintals of grain per hectare, and, compared with the plan and last year, there has been a substantial increase in the production and sale to the state of livestock products.

Does this mean that we could not have done better? No, it does not. Existing opportunities and the accumulated potential are still not being fully utilized in the republic. Old approaches, ingrained habits of formalism, dependence, and indiscipline, and a tendency to wait for instructions from above in all matters and frequently to rely on "luck" are holding us back.

Now, in the period of revolutionary transformations, these are the most dangerous enemies of restructuring and an enormous social evil.

So far, there have been no proven prescriptions showing us how to free ourselves from these rusty braking mechanisms more efficiently and more swiftly. I think that all forms and means leading to stepped up monitoring of and assistance to cadres and to the enhancement of their initiative and businesslike efficiency are sound. Especially forms and means like accountability reports by leadership officials on the performance of their assigned jobs, the inevitability of punishment for poor performance, the competitive [konkursnoye] election of leaders of large or small labor collectives (about 7,000 have already been elected in our republic), and the periodical certification of party, soviet, and economic workers from top to bottom.

The setting up of representative working groups consisting of Central Committee members and Supreme Soviet deputies is a highly effective way of developing people's initiative. They regularly call on laggard enterprises, not merely to pay a formal visit or identify shortcomings but in order to investigate on the spot the cause of the lag, find jointly a way out of the difficult situation, and help set matters right. This helps to bring to light any concealed internal reserves, and people on the spot see for themselves that many of the difficulties which were apparently "insuperable" can actually be overcome given the will for it, an undeviating quest for solutions, and conscientious strengthening of discipline.

Each and every one of us is clearly aware that chronic and, let me repeat, unpunished breaches of discipline are the main cause of all our disruptions, lack of coordination, misunderstandings, and imbalances.

Let me cite just one example.

During Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to our republic, a request was made to accelerate the solution of several pressing questions. This concerned in particular the fact that Latvia suffers from a rather high degree of dilapidation of the national economy's fixed capital and the urban housing stock.

These and other problems were tackled with understanding by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and members of the Central Committee Politburo: A special resolution by the union government was adopted soon afterwards. On the basis of this resolution, the republic's Council of Ministers promptly elaborated its own proposals and submitted them to central departments.

Several months have passed since then, but so far there has been no response from the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, the Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building, the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, and other ministries.

I am convinced that we will achieve nothing as long as we employ 1,000 undisciplined persons where the job could be done by 10 or 100 disciplined ones.

In the course of meetings with participants in the movement "Collective Guarantees for Discipline and Quality"—and almost one-half of the republic's production teams are already active members of this movement—it was said bluntly and openly: Changes in restructuring will not descend like manna from heaven, we will have to effect them ourselves by launching "from below" a decisive battle against attitudes of equability and indifference toward work, against all the forces that apply the brakes.

Generally speaking, restructuring today needs more than ever before, in V.I. Lenin's words, iron discipline and socialist order, and it is incumbent upon us to impose them everywhere, at every work position, from the minister to the worker.

Comrade Deputies! Naturally, the draft plan and budget are geared to implementing a strong social policy and envisage higher targets than the 5-year plan. Their feasibility is backed up by both centralized measures and local potential, which exists everywhere.

In our republic the increase in commissioned housing since the beginning of the 5-year plan totals 12%. However, if all the existing shortcomings were eliminated (and some of them were mentioned in N.V. Talyzin's report), we could make even more headway.

The republic party and soviet organs are doing everything in their power in order to ensure this and are placing these matters on a logical economic footing. Their efforts are reflected in the "Housing-90" targeted comprehensive program, which is called upon to help us build 20% more apartments by the end of the 5-year plan than was envisaged by the plan and thus to halve the waiting list for housing.

Drawing a realistic picture of the development of social and housing construction, I must note that the volume of this construction still reflects the "leftover principle," which has been condemned more than once. No matter how strange this may seem, it remains a fact that, with the Gosplan's assistance, production targets account for two-thirds of the program of the republic Ministry of Construction.

Many deputies are undoubtedly aware of what broad opportunities for enhancing the efficiency of economic management are provided by agro-industrial integration. However, in my view, the 1988 plan does not fully reflect this problem.

Our republic today has 4 of the 8 agrofirms set up in the country, 6 of the 34 agro-industrial combines, one association of the "Novomoskovskoye" type, and 10 associations and centers for the scientific backing of agricultural production. They all have proved their worth and make it possible to make better use of the advantages of economic accountability [khozraschet] and to steadily boost food production.

The time has obviously come for V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences scientists to get involved in this work, to analyze the experience of agro-industrial integration, and to submit constructive proposals on how to further improve it.

Much assistance from them is also needed in working out the principles of self-financing. There are still many gray areas in this sphere and the conditions necessary for the introduction of economic accountability are not always

ensured. It was with great satisfaction and hope that we received the news that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo recently approved measures to switch enterprises and organizations of the Estonian Gosagroprom to full economic accountability and self-financing. Similar measures have been elaborated in our republic too and we are ready to put them into force, provided that we receive appropriate backing, of course.

Let me mention another important problem. What I have in mind is zonal agricultural machine building, without which the losses of agricultural production will grow in proportion with the spread of intensive technologies and increased harvest yields.

This is not, of course, an easy task. But there is nothing impossible in it. One practical option could be to set up in our republic a state association for the production of various agricultural machines for the country's north-west zone. The initial material and technical base for this is in existence, the will is also there, and the cadres are trained.

Comrade Deputies! Over the years of Soviet power the equality of peoples and their fraternal cooperation have been really established in our country. The economy and culture of all the republics has risen. A unified Soviet people have grown up who take pride in their shared achievements and are ready to defend the socialist gains against any encroachments. This gives no rest to the ringleaders of bourgeois propaganda and its numerous subversive centers. Their aspirations are now increasingly focusing on the Baltic republics. A particularly massive onslaught by imperialist reaction is aimed at undermining our peoples' international unity and fraternal friendship. Although these efforts are certainly futile and hopeless, they nonetheless exert a negative influence on a certain section of the population which is hoping to make political capital out of overtly flirting with Western reactionary circles.

It was these bearers of ideas and views alien and even overtly hostile toward socialism who were the instigators of the openly nationalist and anti-Soviet manifestations in Riga and the capitals of the other Baltic republics in August.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, party gorkoms and raykoms, all soviet ispolkoms, and labor collectives have learned a lesson from what happened and have drawn the right conclusions from it. There can be no doubt that all nationalist intrigues will be cut short or that Soviet Latvia and the other Baltic republics have always been, are, and will remain genuinely internationalist republics.

We wish that the people in the West who are conducting frenzied nationalist propaganda against the Baltic republics at various levels, including the state level, would once and for all grasp the simple and very understandable idea: The Soviet peoples' friendship, forged in the

uncompromising ideological clashes against bourgeois nationalism, in the bloody armed struggle against the forces of the counterrevolution and reaction, and in daily practical work, is our tremendous asset and we will never part with it!

Comrade Deputies! We realize that the implementation of next year's plan targets will demand selfless and enterprising labor by workers, kolkhoz members, and the intelligentsia and extensive organizational and political work by party, soviet, and economic organs and public organizations. We will perform this work undeviatingly, we will apply enthusiasm and healthy social fury to strengthen everywhere the atmosphere of strict discipline, bold initiative, and keen creative interest, and will accomplish practical deeds to achieve high end results in the economy and the social sphere. (Applause).

Estonia's Saul

*PM190919 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 22 Oct 87 p 2*

[Speech by Deputy B.E. Saul of Pyarnu City Electoral Okrug, Estonian SSR, (chairman of Estonian SSR Council of Ministers) delivered at 20 October afternoon session of USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies! We are approaching the end of the second year of the 5-year plan period, a year that has been special in many respects. The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee January and June (1987) Plenums supplied us with a precise plan of actions to boost the pace of restructuring, the democratization of society, and the implementation of the strategy of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. Today we are in a position to note with satisfaction that the USSR State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of our country and the USSR State Budget for 1988, submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet, are in line with the decisions of these CPSU Central Committee plenums and are drawn up in the context of 5-year plan. It is of fundamental importance that the plan is based on combination of the interests of the whole state with the interests of labor collectives and territories.

But tomorrow's plans are based on today's deeds. It gives me pleasure to report that society's overall positive mood is taking actual economic shape in our republic's economic life. Targets will be met in terms of virtually all basic indicators of this year's plan.

Our rural workers faced particularly complex conditions this year. The precipitation in some regions was 2-3 times higher than the annual average, while vegetational heat and sunshine were 20% below the norm. Grain

crops and potatoes suffered considerable damage. Therefore, despite the fact that the plan for grass feed procurement was overfulfilled, there will be a shortage of about 300,000 tonnes of feed units. Here we need help from the USSR Gosagroprom to avoid a decline of the highly efficient herd.

Comrade Deputies! Our main task today is to further deepen the process of restructuring and to thoroughly interlink the interests of the state and the interests of individuals. The Estonian SSR's draft plan and budget for 1988, being components of the union plan and budget, are also elaborated in the light of the 5-year plan targets and the directives of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum on fundamental questions of economic development. We perceive it as our main task to solve the problems arising from the Food Program, the housing question, and the satisfaction of the population's needs for goods and services. Moreover, national income growth over the 3-year period has been planned at 10% and industrial output growth at 9.48%, both of which are higher than the 5-year plan targets. Plans for the agricultural complex and for sectors in the social and cultural sphere for 1988 are set at the 5-year plan levels. Real per capita incomes are due to increase 7% (against 6.6% according to the 5-year plan).

Measures have been taken to balance the population's money incomes and expenditure. Faster growth has been planned for the production of consumer goods and the provision of paid services (32% over the 3 years). In short, next year's plan has turned out to be quite intensive and our task now is to map out the specific path for its implementation. The main point here is to enhance the independence of enterprises and institutions and transfer them to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing in line with the Law on the State Enterprise. All levels of management must display joint concern to ensure that an enterprise's legitimate rights are not infringed by departmental barriers, prescriptions, and instructions. This is why we must resolve the questions of improving the economic management mechanism and the management system already in 1987. This means major work which will, of course, spill over into 1988. The transfer of workers in all sectors of the production sphere and a number of nonproduction sectors to new wage rates and salary scales will be completed this year. The restructuring of the construction complex management is under way. Last Thursday the CPSU Central Committee Politburo backed our suggestion to transfer the enterprises of the republic's agro-industrial complex to full economic accountability and self-financing as of 1 January 1988. The implementation of all these measures ought to boost the efficiency of social production.

We are, however, aware that we are not yet in a position to boast of a decisive turn toward intensification of the development of the republic's entire national economy. Reserves must be primarily sought at labor collective level.

Comrade Deputies! I would like to use this forum to raise some questions whose positive resolution would accelerate socioeconomic development not only in our republic.

First, additional incentives for the production and sale of consumer goods. A number of measures are being adopted in the republic, including an economic experiment in the Estonian SSR Ministry of Light Industry, with the aim of producing additional consumer goods. In 3 years production of them has increased by 16.5% in the Estonian SSR Ministry of Light Industry. However, strain in the trade in these commodities has still not lessened in our republic, but on the contrary has grown. In 1987, though the production of knitted goods, leather footwear, and sewn goods has increased, market allocations in the republic have declined in comparison with 1986. The paradox is this: Ministry of Light Industry production workers' initiative "is penalized" by a shortage in the own-brand trade network, which is receiving fewer of the ministry's own goods. Our proposal is: Let the USSR Gosplan establish progressive normatives for earmarking consumer goods for the market allocations of [the ministry's] own output. The quest for additional production on the whole will only be activated as result of this.

Another problem: Our republic is an area of intensive fishing. But there is practically no fish on the market. Because of the present low prices for fresh fish fishermen have no interest in putting it on the market. However, our proposal, together with the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry, supported by the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Finance, to permit the market sale of up to 10% of the planned catch at commission prices was rejected by the State Committee on Prices and the USSR Ministry of Trade. We ask the USSR Council of Ministers to back us and give the population an opportunity to enjoy fresh fish, instead of only canned fish or frozen fillets.

Another point about consumer goods: Central economic departments do not trust us to develop industrial processing methods and prices for goods for local consumption (pickled gherkins, cakes, and dairy products). But these operations drag on for months at the center. Is this not an anachronism in our restructuring? We ask the State Committee for Prices and other central departments to review their approaches in this work.

Second question: It is well known that the Estonian SSR is switching to wholesale trade in the material and technical supply of the national economy in 1988. The USSR Gosplan and the Estonian Council of Ministers have signed a document concerning measures to implement this experiment. In order to execute this the USSR Gosplan has coordinated with the union ministries and departments a procedure whereby the latter guarantee to transfer funds to the Estonian Gosplan for capital construction and production and operational needs for 1988.

But, despite the fact that the timetable for transferring funds agreed with the union stockholders expired in August, they have not as yet finished the work in question. The formation of resources for wholesale trade is being held up, which will entail difficulties in supplying consumers from those same ministries and departments next year. In other words, restructuring in the republic's material and technical supply system is under threat of disruption. This must not be allowed to happen! This is why we are asking prompt cooperation from the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Gosstat in this work.

Third question: In recent years the work of machine building enterprises under union jurisdiction in the republic has considerably deteriorated. The renewal of output, the manufacture of consumer goods, and retooling are being implemented extremely slowly in these enterprises. Our direct contacts with the union ministries remain unanswered. This year an especially complex situation has arisen in our republic with regard to Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry enterprises, where the delivery backlog for the first 9 months of this year amounts to 30% of the entire delivery backlog for enterprises under union jurisdiction. As yet there is no prospect of improvement in 1988. I would like to ask union ministers to be more exacting toward their apparatus, since it is a question of observing state discipline and paying elementary attention to the requirements of their own labor collectives in the localities.

Comrade Deputies! On behalf of Estonian SSR deputies I propose that the USSR plan and budget for 1988 be approved with due consideration for what has been said and for the proposals by the chambers' standing plan and budget and other commissions.

In conclusion permit me to assure you that Soviet Estonia's working people will do everything in their power to end this year with honor and worthily greet the 70th anniversary of our great motherland and will also take all measures to fulfill the 1988 targets ahead of schedule. (Applause).

NOVOSTI's Falin Assesses Restructuring
AU121234 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
7 Nov 1987 p 9

[Interview with NOVOSTI chairman Valentin Falin: "More Democracy, More Socialism—Interview with Valentin Falin on Restructuring in the USSR", by Pal Lederer and Istvan Zalai—in Budapest, date not given]

[Text] Valentin Falin, chairman of the Soviet *Novosti* news agency and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, who previously worked in the Soviet diplomatic service for many years and was the Soviet ambassador in Bonn, recently visited Hungary. He participated in an East-West journalists' conference in Budapest, and that is when he answered the questions of *Nepszabadsag's* correspondents.

[Lederer, Zalai] Approximately 2 and 1/2 years have passed since the announcement of the new work program of the CPSU in April 1985. How would you sum up the balance of the restructuring so far?

[Falin] The most important result of the last 2 and 1/2 years is a qualitative change in the political and psychological state of Soviet society. Today we see realistically the tasks that are facing us and the measures needed to fulfill them. A set amount of time is required to achieve all this. But the most important event has already happened. We are living not in a world of abstract concepts and dogmas, and we chose the direction for our movement strictly on the basis of realities. On the basis of their significance, extent and profundity, we characterize the ongoing processes in the USSR as a revolution.

[Lederer, Zalai] Is there a new revolution 70 years after the Great October Socialist Revolution?

[Falin] Revolution is not a single event, but a process; and the transition from one stage of the revolution to another can also have a revolutionary character.

The present revolution means qualitative renewal. It is not implemented forcibly and it does not require human sacrifices or changes which would be accompanied by the elimination of social groups and classes. This revolution is taking place in the consciousness, and this is the main characteristic of the process we are witnessing. This is a revolution of the consciousness, which leads to revolution in the people's attitudes and relations between people. This is the way I personally understand this concept and the way I also relate to it. I see no contradiction in the fact that the October revolution occurred 70 years ago and now we are implementing a new revolution. Basically, we are now cleansing socialism of the burdens that have settled on it for various reasons during these 70 years. I am referring to our own mistakes, but also to the enormous external influences, such as the world war or the cold war, that distorted many processes to various extents and deprived us of many possibilities to conduct our affairs in the way we would have liked to conduct them 70 years ago.

A More Democratic Atmosphere [subhead]

[Lederer, Zalai] Let us return to the balance of restructuring. You have mentioned changes in consciousness. What happened in practice?

[Falin] Basically, the concept and the strategy of economic restructuring and the endeavor for social justice have been formulated and they enable at the same time the elimination of the heavy distortions and accumulated problems which have appeared in many areas of our lives during the past decades. Above all, this affects the economy. We are making determined efforts to eliminate tyrannical and administrative management. A modern economy, especially one in a huge country like the Soviet Union, cannot be developed and managed

from one center. It is not possible to decide on every detail at one center, and determine what will be, what will not be, what is good, and what is not. Such a method has not proved itself in the past, it is even less appropriate for the demands of the present, and it will be completely inappropriate tomorrow.

During the past 2 and 1/2 years, and parallel to the economic decisions, many social and economic decisions have been made which consistently focusing on concrete human needs, have created or are creating a new atmosphere in the country.

The entire atmosphere of society has become more democratic. The process of democratization is underway in practice. The practice of multiple nomination was already employed in many districts at the recent local council elections. Our endeavor, practical examples of which already exist, is to establish the selection of enterprise managers, institute directors, and workshop foremen by means of elections. There are already party organizations where we elect the secretary from among several candidates. We will consistently implement this principle, instead of the previous system, which appears to provide for elections but is, in fact, a rather strict system of nominations. Conditions are being created in which people will be able to distinguish themselves on the basis of their real skills, and not because somebody is supporting them or because they are proteges.

Summing up the achievements of the last 2 and 1/2 years, we should naturally not forget the tremendous changes that have taken place in our foreign policy, changes that have had a perceptibly favorable influence on the world.

[Lederer, Zalai] One comes across the view that the process of restructuring started from above, and that is why its ideas are making slow progress. What is your opinion in this respect?

[Falin] Our present attempt to implement reform differs from previous attempts in the very fact that the demand for it has matured in the masses. Restructuring should not be construed as if leadership in the Soviet Union has passed into the hands of a new group of people, and that this group has decided to reject whatever its predecessors have done. Reality is completely different. The changes have ripened in society. The society does not want to continue living as it used to live. The merit of the new leadership lies in the fact that it willingly adapted to the demands that have ripened in society. That is why the program of restructuring has found wide support. It was not necessary to convince the simple people that restructuring is the future of society. They believed it without superfluous words. Nevertheless, people naturally await not only the announcement of the plans, but also practical results.

The Main Difficulty [subhead]

[Lederer, Zalai] One can, however, also hear about the difficulties of restructuring. How do you explain them?

[Falin] There are two kinds of difficulties. There are objective difficulties. The world's second strongest economy has to be reorganized on new economic principles. Within a very short period of time, industry must be put on basically new technical foundations and the qualitative factors of production must reach, and even surpass, world standard levels. These examples also demonstrate the extent of the required effort to ensure that words do not remain only words.

There are subjective difficulties as well. If, over a period of 20, 30, 50, or even more years, people have become used to executing orders, acting on instructions from above, and to demonstrating no independence whatsoever, it is not at all easy for them to start thinking and acting completely differently overnight. They are told that they have the right to decide independently. And what do they do? They sit and wait for somebody to call and tell them what to do. At present there is no shortage in rights in the Soviet Union, but there is a shortage in implementing them.

In addition, there is in the Soviet Union a significant stratum of people who have become used to living above the level justified by the quality of their work, or to being paid for completely unnecessary work. Let us consider the enormous apparatus of administrative management. About 18 million people work there. In the new conditions, many will be superfluous. However, these are the people who, on the basis of their determined social status, for years have got used to going to the office every day, sitting at their desk, being flooded with papers, making phone calls, arbitrarily answering some people and neglecting others, and helping some and obstructing others. Now they will have to look for another occupation. And these people really feel the changes to their own cost already. They have no theoretical objection to restructuring, but they think that in practice, it should affect somebody else. They concur with reduction of the apparatus' staff, but they would like to be left untouched. This, of course, refers not only to people in the apparatus, but also to workers. If a worker is told that he is going to be paid precisely according to the worth of his work, it is not at all certain that he will agree because the day before he was sure of receiving his wages whether he worked for them or not. At present, however, he is compelled to put in 8 hours of intensive work in return for his wages. This is quite a considerable change, and there is little wonder if he responds by wishing somebody else to adapt to the new conditions because he would be better off if he did not.

The main difficulty is precisely this: we have got used to thinking like we used to think. We must all learn to think in a new way, and this is a very complex process. Man is basically a conservative creature. Therefore the transformation of his awareness, reflexes, and behavior decisively depend on the conditions in which he lives.

[Lederer, Zalai] On several occasions we have heard that the restructuring is in a critical phase. What does this mean?

[Fallin] A critical phase should not be construed as a time of crisis. This is a critical phase because it is extremely important for us to reach our set goals in a short time. It is critical because any failure could cause great damage to the process of restructuring. That is why every step, the contribution of every person to what is happening is critically important. We need forceful and well thought out efforts.

[Lederer, Zalai] In your opinion, what guarantees are there that the process of restructuring will not come to a standstill?

[Fallin] Our present experiment is not our first, but the previous experiments had no results. They stopped halfway, or as soon as they began, because we tried to introduce the reforms from above, and because we did not exploit all the possibilities and reserves of democratization and did not activate the masses. Without these, no reform can be successful even today. The basic principle of restructuring is the harmonization of the party's organizing and creative work with the will, wishes, and possibilities of the widest masses, in order to ensure that socialism is implemented not only in programs, but in a society which fully satisfies the intellectual and financial requirements and which guarantees the best conditions for the development of individual skills.

The guarantee is precisely here. If we fail in our attempts to democratize, restructuring can contribute very little. We cannot talk about democratization if we do not ensure appropriate publicity; that is, a situation in which the affairs of society are openly discussed, decisions are made by a democratic majority, and the implementation of the decisions is supervised by society. Publicity primarily means honesty. We should not hide the difficulties, and we should speak openly about them, and explain how they happened.

Publicity Is a Sharp Weapon [subhead]

[Lederer, Zalai] Does glasnost have limits? And if it does, where are they?

[Fallin] Glasnost is a process. I am convinced that the more perfect socialism becomes and the more its clearly tangible human characteristics develop, socialist openness will become more competitive with any kind of known publicity in any other society. But I am also certain that some determined rules will remain, rules which we will not break. For example, we will not pin vulgar instincts on the banner of glasnost. We will never promote pornography and coercion. Glasnost has certain limits which stem from considerations of security; I am

thinking of the category of state, military and other secrets. There are also several other circumstances we should consider, such as the issue of medical or private secrets.

But I see no limits to the proliferation of glasnost in all the areas that affect the interests of the functional mechanism of society, areas where society deems it expedient, favorable, and useful to open broad debates. Soon a special press law containing both the rights and obligations at the same time, will appear in the Soviet Union. This does not imply an infringement on the principles of glasnost. Publicity is a sharp weapon, and the law provides not only rights for its use by the press but also protection from people who want to misuse it.

[Lederer, Zalai] It seems that glasnost has already done a particularly good job in the area of contributing to the elimination of the so-called blank spots of Soviet history by removing the dust from literary and artistic works on this subject, and by encouraging the creation of new ones, and directly through the vitalization of the historical sciences. How will this be continued?

[Fallin] You know that, because of a range of known circumstances, we have hardly analyzed all the periods of our history with proper objectivity and comprehensiveness. Some periods have not been mentioned at all. Presently, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary, we have brought up the full scope of this issue with particular clarity. We must create complete clarity in everything that happened in order to be able to progress while having accurate knowledge of our identity and origins. Our history has had difficult periods, and we, the children of October, should know how, and under what difficult circumstances society emerged, the tremendous machinery, the enormous system, the great state which the Soviet Union has become. We should know everything as it has really existed in the past.

We, at the APN, are now organizing meetings of many famous scientists and serious experts on history's blank spots. We are doing this because our enemies and ideological opponents abroad thrive on these blank spots. By exploiting the fact that public opinion is not informed, our opponents are trying to twist and repaint these blank spots to make them appear in ways that suit them. We, however, want to present things as they really were. It is true that there have been difficulties, serious mistakes, and illegalities. We want to show what happened, how and why they happened, what was the background to individual processes, and also the actual consequences of all these. But instead of speculative answers, we would like to give answers, which are strictly documented.

Without "Sacred Cows" [subhead]

[Lederer, Zalai] We believe that all this is connected to the new style that characterizes the activities of the new Soviet leadership. As you have previously mentioned,

you have a personal professional relationship with the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Would you comment on the changes that have taken place at the highest level of party leadership?

[Falin] The new style is characterized by an accurately traceable democracy, and the endeavor, or, if you like, the appetite to get to know various views, opinions, and shades. I can say with the greatest conviction that this is unequivocally accepted. At least, this is my own personal experience. The other feature, that in my opinion characterizes the present leadership, is accessibility. Anybody with something to say can find the way to present his opinion; this presentation will not be construed as intervention in someone else's sphere of authority, but will be gratefully accepted. A third feature is, that we are not talking about a formal desire to acknowledge debates within the party while everybody knows that everything has been decided well in advance and everything will be according to the plans. There is a clear and concrete demand to get to know the different opinions about the issues submitted for broad social debate.

Finally, I would like to speak about another important issue, that of the banishment of dogmatism. "Sacred Cows" that can not be touched, done away with, or milked, have completely disappeared from the scene. Everything is on the move. The Marxist thesis claiming that nothing is more convincing than life itself has again taken roots. At present, nobody—and least of all Mikhail Sergeyevich—is attempting to look for answers to the challenges of the period and the future in quotations from the classical works of Marxism-Leninism; the dialectic method is the most important legacy that both Marx and Lenin left to us.

[Lederer, Zalai] To what extent does the change in style affect content matter in, for example, the division of labor between the party and the government?

[Falin] Here we speak not only about style, but also about content. The Marxist-Leninist teaching about the party was violated when the view saying that everything can be best managed from one center and by one man gained dominance. Lenin referred to the party and its functions as the political guides of society and not as society's administrators that make every decision for everyone, not as an organization that substitutes everyone, and not as a group of people who know everything and have ready answers for everything. But, I repeat a situation gradually developed where the party organizations in the Soviet Union began to assume the role of the district, county, and republic soviets, and the same also happened in the center, in Moscow. Nothing good has resulted from this. Precisely this is the reason why the fact that political guidance as the role of the party was repeatedly emphasized in the reorganized party program, in the resolutions of the 27th congress, and in the party plenums following the congress. All the state institutions, the legislative and the executive organs, and the judicial institutions should deal with their own affairs.

The party should provide help to enable them to function, but without interfering in their authority and making their decisions for them. This is the task. It is already being implemented at the center, although not without problems. This implementation on the lower levels encounters more difficulty, especially in the provinces, because old habits there continue to survive. The power of habit is enormous; as we say, "habit is a supernatural power, which amounts to a second nature." Another view, which also persists, says that work is less complicated if democratic institutions, preceding debates, and the opinions of experts are avoided.

[Lederer, Zalai] In your opinion, what will be the role of the national party conference scheduled for next year?

[Falin] The role of the conference will be to prepare an interim balance of all that we have done since the 27th congress. The preparation of this balance will not be a celebration of the achieved results to the sound of drums and fanfares, as it was occasionally done in the past. We see the importance of the party conference in objectively determining what is productive and what is not; where we should supply encouragement; where are the mistakes, how they are caused and how they should be cured. Choosing from various models and the examination of alternatives are no longer considered as a bad thing. On the contrary, we think that our ability to choose the necessary version from among several variations is a significant result.

[Lederer, Zalai] At the beginning of this talk you referred to the former influence of external factors on the life of the Soviet Union. What is their present influence on reorganization?

[Falin] As they used to in the past, external factors are now also influencing whatever is happening in the Soviet Union. They have often obstructed our efforts to implement our ideas. For example, they have forced us to spend enormous sums on the arms race and on increasing our defense capabilities, at the expense of other things. There is no reason to hide the fact that a very large portion of our national product and efforts are spent on unproductive military expenditures. Let us assume that we were able to reach an agreement on the elimination of nuclear weapons and on the radical reduction of conventional weapons. I am convinced that we would acquire hitherto unforeseen possibilities for the implementation of our economic, social, and cultural plans for the welfare of society and of every single member of our generation.

In the Same Boat [subhead]

[Lederer, Zalai] How do you feel about the Western reception of the Soviet changes?

[Falin] One can find different approaches. There are Western forces—military-industrial complexes—that continue to consider the arms race as a means of applying pressure on the socialist countries. They are trying to cause us the greatest possible damage, and they are unwilling to surrender and change their approach.

But there are other groups as well which are also quite strong and realize where all this can ultimately lead. I am talking about the possibility that the world can be destroyed without a world war, by means of the arms race alone. At present, the interdependent economic systems of the earth are endangered; by losing them, man would condemn himself to extinction within the foreseeable future. Air, water, arable land, and natural resources of energy are dying out because we live as if we were the last generation on earth. This is how the question arises. People in the West should also formulate these arguments because we are in the same boat. They should ask whether it is wise to scuttle and sink the boat, because then they will also die.

People who look for expediency and advantages do not want to contribute to our socialist system; they would rather worry about their own future. If we appeal to sanity, to public opinion, and to those political, economic, and social forces in the West that are able to see beyond today and which also think about the way their children will live and whether there will be children at all—when we refer to sanity as the major criterion of our present existence or extinction, we do not do so because we are idealists. We do not beg anybody for allowances or charity. We are telling them that when they damage us, they are damaging themselves too. We are saying that all that we propose together with the socialist countries and in particular with the Warsaw Pact countries as a mode of more peaceful and meaningful life and cooperation, coincides with their own interests.

Moscow Deputy Mayor Cited on Planning Projects
LD122059 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 12 (TASS)—The plan for Moscow's development and its budget for 1988 have been turned to face social and cultural needs of city residents, Yevgeniy Bystrov, first deputy mayor of the Soviet capital, told a TASS correspondent today.

Bystrov, who heads the Planning Commission of the Moscow City Soviet's Executive Committee, will speak at its regular session on Saturday about the draft plan of the city's all-round economic and social development for the next year.

Explaining the chief trait of the draft, Bystrov said that allocations for education, health and social maintenance would grow by 14 per cent against the current year and account for 42 per cent of all budget spending.

This amounts to 1.4 billion roubles.

Some important sections of this year's programme have been overfulfilled. More child-care centres, schools and hospitals were built than envisaged by plan. Problems in this sphere remain, however.

Branches which require financial subsidies remain a serious burden on the city budget. Among these are, primarily public traffic. Its losses are estimated to reach 155 million roubles next year. The losses are due to low fares (five copecks for each type of transport, excluding taxis) and the construction of new underground and surface lines.

Next year, the city transport pools will receive 200 trolleybuses, 1,400 buses, including comfortable Hungarian-made Karus buses, the prices of which have grown. The pool of taxi-cabs will grow significantly, too. 4.4 kilometres of new metro lines will be put into operation. All that demands subsidies.

Extensive discussion of the draft plan and budget is their distinguishing feature, Bystrov said. Discussions were held at all commissions of the Moscow City Soviet's Executive Committee, in trade unions and the city Komsomol committee.

The drafts were discussed by work collectives at 198 enterprises. Out of 598 amendments advanced, 276 have been taken into account.

More on Publication of Brodskiy Poetry
LD181027 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1526 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Excerpts] Moscow, 18 Nov (TASS)—Iosif Brodskiy's poetry will be printed in the December issue of the *Novyy Mir* magazine which is published in Moscow.

"This publication is not at all connected with the Swedish Academy's prize. For us, just as for everyone, the prize was something unexpected, Oleg Chukhontsev, head of the magazine's poetry department, told a *Moscow News* correspondent. [passage omitted]

"For me, Brodskiy is a poet without whom it is impossible to imagine present-day poetry. This is what inspired us with the thought of providing the readers with a 'primary source.'" It was agreed with the author what would be included in the publication.

Oleg Chukhontsev met Brodskiy in the United States. In a conversation, the poet expressed the wish that his poems be published in *Novyy Mir* and that they should be taken from what he had written in the past 15 years.

"Upon meeting him in person I satisfied myself that Brodskiy is closely following the development of Soviet poetry and continues to regard Russia as his poetic homeland," Oleg Chukhontsev noted. [passage omitted]

As far as I know, Oleg Chukhontsev added, Iosif Brodskiy stated that his being awarded the Nobel prize would serve the heightening of Western interest in Russian poetry.

Economist Primakov Answers Readers

PM111021 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 7 Nov 87 pp 1,3

[Answers to readers' questions by Academician Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute: "Behest of Lofty Humanitarianism. Academician Ye.M. Primakov Replies to Readers' Questions"—first paragraph is a SOVETSKAYA KULTURA introduction; boldface passages are as published and boxed off]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev's report "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues" says in a forthright manner: "The present generations—and not just in our country—are responsible for the fate of civilization and of life on earth itself. It will ultimately depend on them whether the dawn of the new millennium in world history will be its tragic epilogue or an inspiring prologue to the future."

"We are talking about a breakthrough in the thinking of each and every one of us, and about whether the new ideas and the new philosophy of world perception would be affirmed and emerge victorious unless this philosophy penetrates all strata of public awareness and is understood by both politicians and ordinary people in our own country and abroad."

Lidiya Georgiyevna Popova, Kharkov

I believe that the main point is whether the ideas of the new thinking would penetrate through the strata of awareness of politicians in the West.

They are without any doubt penetrating the awareness of the broad strata of the population, and this is already a tangible result of our restructuring—of democratization, glasnost, and the foreign policy initiatives of the USSR which combine principledness with a constructive approach and even, if you like, flexibility and maximum consideration for the demands of public opinion and public moods. For many years everything was done to make the public in the West believe that the Soviet Union is the source of a military threat. This artificially created enemy image is now being tangibly diluted. Evidence of this can be seen in the latest public opinion polls.

For example, when people in West European countries are asked whom they believe more—M.S. Gorbachev or President Reagan—the majority of people now reply that they believe the Soviet Union. This never happened before.

"We often hear it said on television or read in the newspapers that glasnost and restructuring are acclaimed in the West. But why should this be so? After all, restructuring means primarily the renewal of socialism and the consolidation of its positions. How can our ideological adversaries be pleased with this?"

I.S. Khonyukov, Omsk

In the first place, I would not approach the West as a unified whole. The West does not consist only of imperialistically minded politicians or businessmen making profits from militarism, but also of working people, intelligentsia, liberal circles, and businessmen—and they do make up the majority—who are inclined in favor of detente, in favor of stabilization of the world situation. The West is not homogeneous. Hence we must not believe that we are doing something bad if the West adopts a positive attitude toward what we have done. It seems to me that the majority in the West has a positive attitude toward the policy of glasnost and democratization in the Soviet Union because ordinary people do not wish to be faced with an enemy all the time, they do not wish to live all the time beneath the Damoclean sword of an expected armed attack. And if glasnost, democratization, and restructuring totally demolish these fears, then normal people ought to be pleased with this and acclaim it.

But, coming back to Western politicians, I would say that is a far from simple matter to implant the ideas of new political thinking in their minds and practices. But the solution of this task is feasible. Western politicians cannot fail to become increasingly aware that, under the new conditions of which the intensive development of mass destruction means is so typical, a nuclear war could mean the end of human civilization.

It ought to be particularly emphasized: The need for a new foreign policy philosophy and a new attitude toward international problems does not at all mean denying continuity in the Soviet Union's foreign policy. But there can be no question of only deliberately emphasizing continuity while overlooking and ignoring the fundamentally new approach toward foreign policy affairs which became a reality following the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum.

For many years we perceived the USSR's foreign policy as being without any troughs, peaks, or deviations—as a straight line not only based on immutable strategic content but also reflecting a total coincidence of strategy and tactics. In actual fact, this did not correspond with reality. Foreign policy strategy could not and did not constitute a process which, throughout its duration, promoted and accentuated the same identical tasks and goals and resolved set questions once and for all times.

Certain subjective errors on our part also had an effect on the development of foreign policy activity. At times the proclaimed strategic tasks overshadowed all the rest

to such an extent that tactics seemed to be left in the background in a state of absolute subordination, while at other times there was a prevailing view that any means and tactical methods supposedly appropriate for the implementation of tasks of true importance for mankind.

What is needed is a perception of consistency and continuity that is as close to life as possible. Given such an approach, it is obviously possible to draw the conclusion that the foreign policy philosophy being elaborated by the CPSU at the present stage of Soviet society's development is not simply based on, but is, to a large extent, a critical reassessment of the historical heritage of the Soviet Union's international activity, that it revives or strongly emphasizes a series of Leninist premises which are exceptionally important for the restructuring being effected in the foreign policy sphere. There are two ideas which can be perceived as the main ones: The universal human nature of the lofty moral and ethical norms being introduced in world practice and the task of eliminating any divergence between political practice and these norms, and the utmost realism in evaluating the situation at different levels and the consideration of positions held by our opponents and our partners and of world public opinion.

"We are living in a crucial time, and much will depend on politicians' common sense and good will.... What is the main feature of the present state of Soviet-U.S. contacts on arms reductions? Second: In the light of the new thinking, how ought one to approach the solution of conflict situations developing in various parts of the world?"

Twice Hero of Socialist Labor I. Gachev, Nikopol, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast

Great importance attaches to the agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. We are talking about the destruction of two classes of nuclear weapons. Moreover, this would be the first reduction of nuclear weapons. There has been modernization in the past, but the process of modernization resulted in the replacement of obsolete models by new and more up to date ones. But now we are talking about the destruction of the very latest developments in the sphere of medium- and short-range missiles. It is to be hoped that this solution will become a "breakthrough," including a breakthrough in people's awareness.

In his report devoted to the Great October's 70th anniversary, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that very, very little has been done so far for mankind's survival. But a start has been made, and the initial signs of change are there to be seen. In this context, it is obviously possible to believe that the first agreement on the reduction of nuclear missile means could help to open the door for subsequent solutions in the sphere of nuclear disarmament.

We can see the emergence of the outlines—even if only weak ones at present—of a 50% reduction of strategic offensive arms coupled with mandatory observance of the ABM Treaty. These are truly objectively linked problems. It is a matter of elementary logic: If the ABM Treaty is being demolished (and there are grounds for believing that this is precisely what the Americans want to do in order to place nuclear weapons in space, which is prevented by the ABM Treaty) and if we were to take into account the opinion of U.S. experts that **this system** can eliminate up to 70% of a potential enemy's missiles, then it becomes clear that it would be simply foolish to embark on far-reaching reductions of strategic forces under these conditions.

We offer an alternative: A guaranteed nonwithdrawal from this treaty for a period of 10 years, of course, subject to that interpretation of the treaty which prevailed at the time when it was adopted. But during that period we would implement a radical reduction of strategic arms and, maybe, there will no longer be any need to create [sozdavat] systems aimed against strategic weapons. One can acclaim the fact that President Reagan has agreed to examine this problem and, given a favorable outcome, could be in a position to sign an appropriate agreement during his return visit to Moscow in the first half of next year.

I would like to emphasize in particular—and this is obviously one of the very important aspects of our foreign policy line—that we wish to ensure continuity in the process of nuclear arms reduction while focusing attention on the real key questions.

The question of conflict situations is highly important and very acute. It is, of course, necessary to try to use every opportunity to settle the conflicts existing in various parts of the world. It seems to me, though, that in order to achieve this it is necessary to abandon the view that these conflicts are somehow the product of confrontation between the USSR and the United States, it is necessary to stop looking at them only through the prism of this confrontation. It is necessary to realize that regional conflicts are based on both objective and subjective causes—social, economic, and political. It is necessary not to counterpose the interests of different states but to define the area of coincidence of these interests, to try and bring them closer together and to implement the settlement of conflicts on this basis. All this is also envisaged by the new political thinking.

Take the Persian Gulf as an example. The Iraq-Iran war has been going on for more than 7 years now. The Soviet Union has always done everything possible to put an end to this senseless war which is contrary to the interests of the states involved in it, of their peoples, of other neighboring countries, and of the entire world community. It is a war fought at the cost of a vast number of human lives and resulting in incalculable material loss. In this process, however, we never ignored the problem of ensuring freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf. A

series of measures were suggested to the United States and the world community. Only recently we suggested the creation of a naval force under the UN flag, which would be in a position to guarantee the reliable transportation of oil and other cargo in the Persian Gulf zone. And what is the United States offering in contrast? It has introduced there a vast armada of ships which are directly involved in military actions. One gets the impression that the United States is afraid to lose some sort of monopoly which, by the way, it does not possess—a monopoly on the solution of problems in this region.

"What are the dialectics of domestic and foreign policy?... Our state's history contains abundant examples of occasions when we denied ourselves the most basic necessities for the sake of defense. This is what happened just before the Great Patriotic War. And how about the late forties, when we had to resist the policy of nuclear blackmail? What is the situation today?"

Captain First Rank, A.I. Bondarenko, Retired, Riga

Domestic and foreign policy are organically interlinked. That is the Leninist way of putting the question. While coming out with a whole system of peace initiatives, we have proceeded and continue to proceed from two basic considerations: First, and this is the main one, we are talking about the need to overcome tendencies which not only lead to a deadlock in international relations but also jeopardize the entire existence of human civilization. There is, however, a second cause, and it is a domestic one. The restructuring being implemented in our country requires the best possible correlation of resources being channeled into defense and into socioeconomic development. Expenditure on defense is a sacred matter. We cannot forget that we are opposed by forces which have not abandoned the ideas of hardline confrontation. But we are facing more acutely than ever before the question of boosting the resources for the country's socioeconomic development. The solution to all this lies in the formula of reasonable sufficiency of means for defense. When the Political Consultative Committee recently formulated and adopted in Berlin a defensive doctrine as the only one possible for the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces, it had in mind—and this was forthrightly stated, by the way—that military building in our community [u nas] must be based on reasonable sufficiency of means for the purpose of ensuring the reliable defense of every socialist country and of the socialist community as a whole.

For many years we sometimes acted according to the "rules of the game" imposed on us, following various moves made by the United States in the arms race. We were not the ones to initiate this race, we were not its "locomotive." We were forced to participate in it. But what form should such participation take—that is the question. The United States wanted our participation to lead to the economic bleeding of the Soviet Union. Even now this is one of the goals pursued by U.S. militarist circles and politicians allied to them. When we speak of

reasonable sufficiency, we are putting a tight block on any chance of being led down such a path. But the ensuring of **reliable** defense is—let me repeat this—a sacred matter....

"The nucleus of the new thinking is, simply speaking, the art of living all together on the same planet. And this art must be learned—after all, the world is contradictory. It must be learned patiently.... Do scientists feel the need to further elaborate the idea of new thinking on the philosophical, ethical, and cultural plane? What do they have to say about the changing correlation between the terms 'class' and 'universally human'? After all, we started with class implacability, yet now we are talking about tolerance for one another...."

O. Strelnikova, Krasnodar

I am unconditionally in favor of new ideas being developed and further elaborated on the ethical, aesthetic, and cultural plane. Much still remains to be done to ensure that this philosophy—and it has already been set out in integral form by M.S. Gorbachev—is enriched with new ideas. After all, that which the Soviet leadership offers is not perceived as something immutable for all time, there is maximum encouragement for clarifications and additions, including through aesthetic, cultural, and philosophical elaborations. The point is that our new foreign policy philosophy is built upon a panhuman basis, it is of moral and ethical importance not only for individual classes or states but also for the entire world community.

The question arises: What is the correlation of universally human and class interests in our new approaches? This is not an idle question. After all, we are not abandoning and never will abandon the class approach. At the same time, even V.I. Lenin asserted that the interests of social development are superior to the interests of the working class. That is how Lenin put the question. It acquires particular meaning today, when we are really talking about mankind's survival.

At the same time, the problem of the correlation of social development's interests and class interests is not just a problem of their priorities but perhaps to an even greater degree the problem of their interconnection and their interdependence. It seems to me that today it is possible to say: The preservation of human civilization is the supreme class interest of socialism.

"Does the policy of new thinking have an effect on the perception of the links between national and international interests? What is the correlation of the national and the international in this policy?"

G. Vershinin, deputy director of "Irkutskoblttekhnika" Association

First of all, I would like to say that I am categorically opposed to any counterposing of the national and the international. In no circumstances can patriotism be

sacrificed for the sake of internationalism or vice versa. We have held and continue to hold the view that, by strengthening our motherland, we are simultaneously performing our international duty to the other socialist countries, to the revolutionary process, and ultimately to the whole of mankind. Naturally, no one can be considered a patriot if he sets upon other peoples and, at the same time, no one can be considered an internationalist if he does not love his country, his people, his fatherland. Patriotism, by the way, has never been synonymous with nationalism. It is a proper and open feeling, love for one's people is incompatible with hatred for another people.

"Dostoyevskiy wrote that 'blinkered nationalism [uzkaya natsionalnost] is not a part of the Russian spirit,' emphasizing the open nature of Russian culture and the absence of any national arrogance in it.... Today, however, we hear it said on occasion that we are rather too concerned with 'other people's' affairs to the detriment of 'our own,' it is time to concentrate on our own affairs and worries. At this point I would like to ask whether it is possible to use this formulation of the question today: Economic or cultural isolation? Can there be a 'curtain' separating us from the world's problems and worries?"

Candidate of Sciences B. Golubov, geologist, Moscow

Curtain and isolation? I am absolutely convinced that they have always been unnatural, and especially so today. After all, one of the most important conclusions drawn by the 27th CPSU Congress is that we are living in an increasingly interdependent and interlinked world. This in no way rules out the fact that the world is divided into two systems. But this division is compatible with the existence of an increasingly unified world. The party calls upon us to make this dialectical interpretation, and it is actually necessary because it reflects the existing reality.

There was even a prevailing theory in the past, according to which the split of the world into two systems, into two weakly interlinked markets developing according to their own laws, rules out the likelihood of a world economy. Under such constructs, the world economy was simply lost. Today, in speaking of the world's interconnectedness, we do not proceed merely from the premise that all people without exception are faced with the need to seek ways for mankind's survival. The world is also interconnected because a world economy does really exist. Is the following example not typical: It is well known that the Soviet Union does not rank among leading oil exporters (although we do produce more oil than anyone else) and world oil prices are hardly dependent on us. Nonetheless, we do feel most directly the effect of rises or falls of oil prices for reasons beyond our control. And we feel it most tangibly, at that.

Look also at the world scientific and technical revolution. How can we isolate ourselves from its development in the West, how can we retire into ourselves? How can

we reject the obvious advantages of the international division of labor, including in the scientific and technical sphere, and adopt an attitude of autarky? How can we ignore the fact that universally human problems do exist like, for example, the ecological problem? After all, unless we concentrate international efforts on its solution, in a few decades' time we will come up against a new threat to human civilization in general. Finally, how can we abstract ourselves from the fact that concepts of universal culture also exist? How can we deprive ourselves of an opportunity to take advantage of the immeasurable wealth of world culture and stew just "in our own juices?" Of course, this way of putting the question in no way means denying the need to develop our Soviet culture and the national cultures of our peoples, but not by setting them in opposition to world achievements in the sphere of culture, literature, and art.

The policy of new thinking incorporates a behest of lofty humanitarianism—to safeguard culture and civilization, a behest bequeathed to us by the humanitarians of the past. It is also the behest of the Great October.

Economic

Report on Jan-Oct Industrial Performance

PM171033 Moscow *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA*
in Russian No 47, Nov 87 (Signed to Press 12 Nov 87)
p 9

["USSR State Committee for Statistics Report" under headline: "On Industry's Work in January-October 1987"—boldface passages as published]

[Text] The output sales plan taking delivery commitments into account was fulfilled 98.3% in January-October this year. Some 29% of production associations and enterprises failed to cope with contract commitments.

Labor productivity increased 3.6%. The January-September profits plan was fulfilled and, compared with the corresponding period last year, profits increased 5.9%. The prime costs of industrial output declined by 0.6%.

The growth of industrial output production in the first 9 months amounted to 3.4%, and the entire growth resulted from increased labor productivity with a slight reduction of the number of workers employed in the sector.

The fulfillment of contract commitments on deliveries and of the plan for profits, labor productivity growth rate, and output volume growth rate in January-October by national economic complexes is as follows (in percentages) [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—FULFILLMENT of contract commitments for output deliveries; Column B—PROPORTION of enterprises failing to fulfill contract commitments; Column C—SHORTFALL in output deliveries, millions of rubles; Column D—FULFILLMENT of profits plan (January-September); Column E—ACTUAL labor productivity growth rate; Column F—ACTUAL output volume growth rate]:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Fuel and energy complex	99.1	37	367	108	4.3	3.0
Metallurgical complex	98.7	41	883	102	3.0	1.6
Machine building complex	96.6	62	2,759	96	3.0	3.3
Chemical industry and timber complex	97.8	53	1,796	97	4.1	2.9
Agro-industrial complex	99.2	23	721	98	3.3	2.9
Social complex (USSR Ministry of Light Industry)	98.7	34	1,010	98	3.4	0.5
Construction industry complex (USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry)	98.3	37	182	103	4.6	2.8

Data on industry's work in January-October for **union republics** (including industry under union jurisdiction) is cited below (in percentages) [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—FULFILLMENT of contract commitments for output deliveries; Column B—PROPORTION of enterprises failing to fulfill contract commitments; Column C—SAVINGS (plus sign [denoted by letter "p" in table] indicates overexpenditure) in prime costs as percentage of the plan (January-September); Column D—ACTUAL labor productivity growth rate; Column E—ACTUAL output volume growth rate]:

	A	B	C	D	E
RSFSR	98.2	32	0.3	4.0	3.1
Ukrainian SSR	98.2	27	0.1	3.4	2.8
Belorussian SSR	99.4	14	0.6	6.1	6.3
Uzbek SSR	97.6	29	0.3	0.8	1.2
Kazakh SSR	97.9	28	0.5	3.7	3.6
Georgian SSR	98.3	18	p0.4	1.6	2.1
Azerbaijan SSR	98.2	24	p0.1	4.4	4.7
Lithuanian SSR	99.7	5	0.5	4.2	3.8
Moldavian SSR	98.2	32	0.5	5.8	5.6
Latvian SSR	98.9	18	0.7	4.4	3.5
Kirghiz SSR	98.1	28	0.1	0.3	0.5
Tajik SSR	97.9	30	1.0	3.1	4.6
Armenian SSR	97.1	26	0.3	3.0	4.4
Turkmen SSR	98.7	21	0.7	0.3	1.2
Estonian SSR	99.6	15	0.8	4.0	2.5

Output worth R37 million, representing 0.3% of the total volume of output submitted for acceptance during October, was rejected by the state acceptance system. The proportion of output rejected by the state acceptance system is particularly high at enterprises under the USSR Ministries of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, of the Light Industry, and of the Construction Materials Industry.

Basic indicators showing the production of the most important types of output by industrial complexes in January-October are cited below.

Fuel and Energy Complex [subhead]

	Produced in Jan-Oct 1987	Percentage plan fulfillment in Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage of Jan-Oct 1986
Electricity, billion kilowatt-hours	1,355	100.3	104
Oil (including gas condensate), million tonnes	520	101	102
Gas, billion cubic meters	597	102	106
Coal, million tonnes	632	102	101

Above-plan extraction amounted to 6.2 million tonnes of oil, including gas condensate, 10.7 billion cubic meters of gas, and 13.3 million tonnes of coal including 7.7 million tonnes of coking coal.

At the same time, the complex's enterprises failed to fully ensure the fulfillment of contractual commitments, especially in the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry system. Every other coal extracting association failed to cope with contract commitments on deliveries and the shortfall in deliveries of output amounted to R100 million.

Lagging still persists in the work of the "Varyeganneftegaz" Association under the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry. In the coal industry, the "Bashkirugol," "Prokopyevskugol," "Sredazugol," and "Artemugol" Associations are not meeting their plan targets.

Metallurgical Complex [subhead]

	Produced in Jan-Oct 1987	Percentage plan fulfillment in Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage of Jan-Oct
--	-----------------------------	---	--

	Produced in Jan-Oct 1987	Percentage plan fulfillment in Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage 1986		Produced in Jan-Oct 1987	Percentage plan fulfillment in Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage 1986
Steel, million tonnes	135	100.4	100.6	Low-capacity electric motors for program-controlled machine tools (stepper motors), thousands	40.1	101	106
Rolled ferrous metal products (finished), million tonnes	94.6	100.6	101	Metal cutting machine tools, billion rubles of which, with digital program control	2.4	94	97
Steel pipes, million tonnes	17.0	99.7	103	Forging and pressing machines, million rubles	541	87	94
Iron ore, million tonnes	209	101	100.4	Industrial robots, thousands	11.9	98	92
				Instruments, automation equipment, and spare parts, billion rubles	4.1	98	104

The plan for the production of basic types of metal products was fulfilled. The shortfall in steel pipe manufacture was reduced in October. The monthly plan was fulfilled 102%.

of Jan-Oct
1986

At the same time, the manufacture of the prescribed range of output was not ensured. Production targets were not met for electric steel, high quality cold-drawn steel, curved steel castings, heat-treated pipes, high-impact oil-grade pipes, and a number of other categories.

During the first 10 months, enterprises under the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy produced a shortfall in output deliveries under contract commitments amounting to R765 million.

Machine Building Complex [subhead]

	Produced in Jan-Oct 1987	Percentage plan fulfillment in Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage of Jan-Oct 1986		Produced in Jan-Oct 1987	Percentage plan fulfillment in Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage 1986
Turbines, million kilowatts	17.7	98	111	Computer equipment and spare parts, billion rubles	4.3	100.9	109
Turbine generators, million kilowatts	11.3	97	92	Program control devices for all types of technological equipment, thousands	22.1	97	109
Large electric machines, thousands	21.3	92	97	Petroleum apparatus, million rubles	204	91	97
AC electric motors, million kilowatts	44.7	92	96	Chemical equipment and spare parts, million rubles	785	88	96
				Industrial equipment and spare parts for the light and food industry, billion rubles	1.5	89	96
				Tractors, million horsepower	43.0	95	94
				Agricultural machines, billion rubles	3.5	99.2	104
				Potato harvesting combines, thousands	6.9	96	108

	Produced in Jan-Oct 1987	Percentage plan fulfillment in Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage 98
Machines and equipment for stockraising and feed pro- duction, billion rubles	2.4	95	
Feed harvesting combines, thousands	34.2	97	101
Excavators, thousands	33.9	94	95

The results of the first 10 months show that lagging behind plan targets still persists as regards the production of blast furnace, steel casting, and metal rolling equipment and main-line diesel locomotives by enterprises and associations under the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, AC electric motors by the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, chemical and oil field equipment by the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, industrial equipment for the light and food industry under the USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, and metal cutting machine tools and forging and pressing machines by the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry.

The manufacture of highly efficient advanced equipment expanded. But many ministries failed to ensure the fulfillment of set targets for boosting their output. Plans were not fulfilled by the USSR Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry as regards the manufacture of processing centers and flexible production modules, by the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry as regards the manufacture of new standard series economic electric motors, by the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems as regards the manufacture of program control devices for technological equipment, by the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building as regards the manufacture of continuous billet casting machines, and by the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building as regards the manufacture of high-power tracked industrial tractors.

Chemical Industry and Timber Complex [subhead]

	Produced in Jan-Oct 1987	Percentage plan fulfillment in Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage of Jan-Oct 1986
Mineral fertiliz- ers (in 100% nutrient equiva- lent), million tonnes	30.0	100.6	104
Chemical plant protection agents (in 100% active ingredi- ents), thousand tonnes	274	100.7	99
Sulfuric acid, million tonnes	23.5	99.3	103
Caustic soda, million tonnes	2.7	98	102
Chemical fibers and yarns, mil- lion tonnes	1.3	100.3	103
Synthetic resins and plastics, million tonnes	4.5	98	103
Tires for motor vehicles, buses, agricultural machines, motor cycles, and motor scooters, mil- lions	56.4	100.1	102
Commercial lumber (exclud- ing small timber procurements), million trimmed cubic meters	229	98	99.6
Paper, million tonnes	5.1	99.5	99.99
of which news- print, billion square meters	29.8	100.7	104

The production plan was fulfilled and, compared with the corresponding period last year, there was an increase in the production of a number of advanced and highly efficient types of timber industry and paper products—wood fiber slabs, large veneer sheets, fine-grade newsprint, and packaging cardboard.

At the same time, there was an increase in the shortfall of the production of synthetic resins and plastics and their advanced varieties—PVC, polystyrene, radial tires, and cement shavings panels.

The planned volumes for the manufacture of thermo-plastic pipes and pipeline components and chipboard were not achieved.

Sulfuric acid and ammonia production units did not operate satisfactorily.

Construction Industry Complex [subhead]

	Produced in Jan-Oct 1987	Percentage plan fulfillment in Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage of Jan-Oct 1986
Cement, million tonnes	114	100.8	102
Precast ferro-concrete, million cubic meters	102	99	103
Asbestos cement sheet (shingle), billion standard tiles	7.3	100.1	102
Soft roofing and insulation materials, billion square meters	1.7	99.1	99.2
Asbestos, million tonnes	1.9	101	103
Window glass, million square meters	208	98	98

The planned volume of production was not achieved in terms of some highly efficient materials as follows: Plasterboard [gipsokartonny list] (99.6%), asbestos cement extrusion panels (79%), and sectional buildings (modules) made of light metal components (89%).

Enterprises under the USSR Ministries of Construction in Southern Areas of the USSR, of Construction in Northern and Western Areas of the USSR, of Construction in the Far East and Transbaykal Regions, and of Construction in Areas of the Urals and West Siberia did not fulfill their plan for the manufacture of panels and other components for large-panel housing construction.

The following figures describe the fulfillment of the plan for the production of **consumer goods**:

	Produced in Jan-Oct 1987	Percentage plan fulfillment in Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage of Jan-Oct 1986
FOODSTUFFS			
Meat (from state raw material resources), million tonnes	9.2	105	105

	Produced in Jan-Oct 1987	Percentage plan fulfillment in Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage of Jan-Oct 1986
Sausage products, million tonnes	3.0	104	104
Butter (from state raw material resources), million tonnes	1.5	106	103
Whole milk products in milk equivalent (from state raw material resources), million tonnes	26.6	104	104
Commercial edible fish products, including canned fish, million tonnes	4.8	102	97
LIGHT INDUSTRY PRODUCTS			
Textiles, all types, billion square meters	10.5	99.97	103
Knitted articles, billion items	1.5	100.3	103
Hosiery, billion pairs	1.7	101	103
Footwear, million pairs	665	99.6	100.5
GOODS FOR CULTURAL, EVERYDAY, AND DOMESTIC PURPOSES			
Watches and clocks, millions	58.2	98	99.8
Chinaware and earthenware, million rubles	822	99.6	105
High-grade (glass and crystal) tableware, million rubles	727	100.2	91
Radio receivers, millions	6.7	91	90
Television sets, millions	7.4	91	93
of which, color sets	3.7	86	102
Tape recorders, millions	4.1	89	103
Refrigerators and freezers, millions	4.9	96	99.5
of which, two- and three-compartment units	1.1	87	139
Washing machines, millions	4.8	97	106

	Produced in Jan-Oct 1987	Percentage plan fulfillment in Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage of Jan-Oct 1986
Sewing machines, zigzag type, thousands	790	100.6	102
Furniture, billion rubles	7.2	100.6	104
Automobiles, thousands	1,106	100.2	100.1
Motorcycles, thousands	790	95	90
Disposable paper products, million rubles	606	103	107
Wallpaper, million standard lengths	425	102	114

Consumer goods output (excluding alcoholic beverages) in the first 10 months of this year was R264 billion, or 4.5% higher than in the corresponding period of 1986.

The plan was fulfilled and the output of basic foodstuffs increased as follows: meat by 5%, butter and vegetable oils by 3%, wholemilk products by 4%, and canned foods by 2%.

Lags persist in the manufacture of goods for cultural and everyday purposes. The shortfall against the January-October plan amounts to 740,000 television sets, 508,000 tape recorders, and 149,000 washing machines. Plan fulfillment is not ensured as regards the manufacture of modern products with enhanced consumer qualities: Large capacity refrigerators, de luxe vacuum cleaners, and agitator-type washing machines with centrifugal spinning mechanisms.

Consumer goods manufacture plans were not fulfilled by the USSR Ministries of the Chemical Industry, of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, of the Electrical Equipment Industry, of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, of the Radio Industry, of the Communications Equipment Industry, and a number of other ministries.

Enterprises under the USSR Ministry of Light Industry failed to meet their targets for the manufacture of linen textiles and footwear. The following quantities were either rejected or downgraded during the first 9 months of this year: 39 million meters of cotton, woolen, and silk textiles, 2.9 million items of knitwear, and 8.7 million pairs of footwear. There is no improvement as regards the performance of contractual delivery commitments.

The shortfall in output and commodity deliveries to consumers amounted to R1 billion in January-October. Some 34% of enterprises failed to perform their commitments to consumers.

BRIEFS

Electricity Output Up

In the past 10 months the output of electricity in the Soviet Union increased by 4% reports the National Statistics Service. The USSR accounts for one-sixth of the world's electricity production. It is planning to build new major power plants on Siberian rivers. These include an unprecedentedly large power station on the lower Tunguska River. Its capacity will be 20 million kw. Power plants using the energy of underground heat and ocean tides are under construction in different parts of the USSR. [Text] [Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 14 Nov 87 LD]

Agricultural

Jan-Oct Stockraising Figures Reported

PM171301 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 47, Nov 87 (Signed to Press 12 Nov 87) p 10

[Unattributed "Statistical Summary": "Stockraising on Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes"]

[Text] The editorial office has received USSR State Committee for Statistics figures for the state of stockraising on kolkhozes and sovkhozes in January-October 1987.

I. Production of Livestock Products [subhead]

The country's kolkhozes and sovkhozes had the following results for the production of livestock products in January-October this year:

Indicators	Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage of Jan-Oct 1986
Meat production (sale of livestock and poultry for slaughter, live weight), thousand tonnes	17,248	105
of which:		
cattle	9,699	106
pigs	4,287	106
sheep and goats	1,003	99
poultry	2,259	105
Gross milk yield thousand tonnes	71,720	102
Average milk yield per cow, kg	2,352	102

Indicators	Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage of Jan-Oct 1986	Types of Product purchased	Purchased During Jan-Oct 1987	Jan-Oct 1987 as percentage of Jan-Oct 1986
Hen eggs, millions	49,877	104			
Average egg yield of laying hens, units	190	101			
			Livestock and poultry (live weight), thousand tonnes	18,148	108
			Milk, thousand tonnes	65,485	103
			Eggs, millions	46,906	103

Meat production increased by 892,000 tonnes in comparison with the same period last year. Meat production increased on farms in all union republics except Moldavia. The greatest increase in meat production in the RSFSR was achieved by farms in Lipetsk, Murmansk, Volgograd, Kuybyshev, Orenburg, Saratov, Ulyanovsk, and Ryazan Oblasts, the Maritime Kray, and the Udmurt ASSR. Meat production declined on farms in Astrakhan and Rostov Oblasts and in the Kalmyk, Chechen-Ingush, and Tuva ASSR's.

The gross milk yield in January-October 1987 was 1,536,000 tonnes more than in January-October last year. An increase in milk production was secured by stock unit workers in almost all union republics except Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, and Armenia.

The greatest increase in milk production in the RSFSR was achieved by farms in Arkhangelsk, Tula, Orel, Ryazan, Kirov, Lipetsk, Tomsk, and Kemerovo Oblasts, Khabarovsk and Maritime Krays, and Buryat and Udmurt ASSR's. Milk production declined on farms in Vologda, Novgorod, Pskov, Yaroslavl, Kalinin, Kursk, Volgograd, Tyumen, Rostov, and Kurgan Oblasts and the Chechen-Ingush and Bashkir ASSR's.

Egg production on kolkhozes and sovkhoses in January-October 1987 increased by 1,719 million compared with the same period last year. Growth was achieved on farms in all union republics.

II. Purchases of Livestock Products on All Categories of Farms [subhead]

The volume of livestock and poultry sales to the state in the country in January-October 1987 increased by 1,394,000 tonnes in comparison with the same period last year. Livestock and poultry sales increased on farms in all union republics.

Livestock and poultry purchases declined on farms in the Kalmyk and Chechen-Ingush ASSR's. Livestock and poultry purchases increased considerably on farms in Volgograd and Saratov oblasts, Stavropol Kray, and Kuybyshev, Orenburg, and a number of other oblasts.

Purchases of milk and dairy products increased by 2,047,000 tonnes during January-October 1987. Farms in all union republics except Tajikistan and Armenia ensured growth of milk sales to the state.

Milk sales to the state in the RSFSR declined on farms in Tyumen, Kurgan, Pskov, Novgorod, Yaroslavl, and Rostov Oblasts, the Bashkir ASSR, and Vologda and other oblasts.

There was a significant increase in milk purchases on farms in Khabarovsk Kray, Kirov Oblast, the Udmurt ASSR, and Kemerovo, Tomsk, Ryazan, and a number of other oblasts.

Egg sales to the state in January-October 1987 increased by 1,425 million in comparison with the same period last year. Growth was achieved on farms in all union republics.

III. Production and Purchases of Livestock Products by Union Republic [subhead]

Jan-Oct 1987 as Percentage of Jan-Oct 1986

Union republic	Meat	Production Milk	Eggs	Livestock and Poultry	Purchases Milk	Eggs
USSR	105	102	104	108	103	103
RSFSR	107	102	104	110	103	103
of which the Non-Chernozem Zone	106	103	104	107	103	104
Ukrainian SSR	104	100.3	102	109	102	100.2
Belorussian SSR	108	106	106	108	109	104

Jan-Oct 1987 as Percentage of Jan-Oct 1986

Uzbek SSR	100.9	107	111	106	107	112
Kazakh SSR	107	104	103	108	104	104
Georgian SSR	100.9	100.7	100.9	101	101	101
Azerbaijan SSR	108	99.8	110	107	102	108
Lithuanian SSR	102	102	108	102	104	109
Moldavian SSR	99.99	100.1	104	100.5	103	106
Latvian SSR	103	102	100.2	105	103	102
Kirghiz SSR	106	105	111	110	103	110
Tajik SSR	107	99.2	104	104	98	103
Armenian SSR	105	98	105	102	98	107
Turkmen SSR	105	103	107	107	104	105
Estonian SSR	101	103	101	103	105	103

IV. Livestock Numbers [subhead]

As of 1 November 1987 there were 95.4 million head of cattle on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, being a decline of 1.1 million head compared with the corresponding period last year. There were 28.8 million cows, being a decline of 388,000. The pig population reached 60.1 million (a decline of 2.4 million). Sheep and goats numbered 117.6 million, or 1.1 million fewer than at the same date in 1986. The number of poultry reached 783.8 million, being an increase of 16.8 million.

The number of head of cattle declined on kolkhozes and sovkhozes in most union republics except Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Latvia, and Turkmenistan.

The number of cows fell on farms in 12 union republics except Kirghizia, Armenia, and Turkmenistan.

The pig population fell on farms in almost all union republics except Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Turkmenistan, and Estonia.

The sheep and goat population declined on farms in many union republics except Lithuania, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Estonia.

Poultry numbers increased on farms in most union republics except Uzbekistan, Moldavia, Latvia, Tajikistan, and Armenia.

Media Report 12-14 November Developments

LD160100 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 12-14 November. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

12 November

A harvest of 1.5 million tonnes of grain has been gathered in Irkutsk Oblast this year, which is a record for the entire history of agriculture there. (2330)

13 November

The last harvesters are leaving the rice fields of Khorezm Oblast today; 115,000 tonnes of rice have been delivered to the state, thus considerably overfulfilling the plan. (0000)

Uzbekistan farmers have started to harvest cotton in excess of 400,000 tonnes today. The pace of putting raw cotton in storage in the republic is now much higher than year ago. (0304)

Fruit and vegetables harvest has ended in Moldavia. Farmers did not fulfill production and sales plans on these crops because of bad weather, bad organization of the labor force, and bad management of the use of machinery. As a result, a good crop of vegetables, as much as several tonnes per hectare, had to be ploughed under in the Dnestrovskiy State Farm in Novye Aneny Rayon. (0500)

North Osetia has sold 156,000 tonnes of grain to the state; the plan target was 150,000 tonnes. Almost 100,000 tonnes of corn has been delivered to procurement points. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800)

14 November

Sowing of winter crops is drawing to an end in Kashkadarya Oblast, major granary of Uzbekistan. Wheat and barley have been placed on the area exceeding 120,000 hectares here. Around 650,000 hectares of ploughed fields have now been allocated in Uzbekistan to winter cereals. The seeds are already in the soil on 92% of this area. (0300)

Heavy snowfalls delayed harvesting in the Central Asian republics. The snow has now melted but the soil is saturated, 50 machines cannot go into the fields. The population is having to help with the harvest. To date 7,058,000 tonnes of raw cotton have been delivered to procurement points. The cotton plan has been fulfilled by 88%. Harvesting of fine fiber cotton is going rather better. Seed preparation is causing concern. In the RSFSR sufficient seed for the next year's sowing has not yet been prepared; and what has been laid in is not of a very high standard; only half of the seed is of first and second class. Rather more hay, haylage, and silage has been laid in than last year, but less fodder root vegetables and vitaminized grass meal. The amount of fodder per head of cattle varies among the republics. Lithuania has almost 18.5 quintals of fodder units per head but Ukraine only slightly over 14.5 quintals. Estonia has 12.5 quintals. Statistics show that the USSR consumes 62 kg of meat per head per year and 33 kg of milk products. (1900)

Scientific

'Progress 32' Separates From 'Mir' Complex *LD180940 Moscow TASS in English 0846 GMT* 18 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—Yuriy Romanenko has spent his 285th day in outer space while Aleksandr Aleksandrov is in his 17th week.

Today's programme envisages astrophysical and geophysical research, maintenance of certain on-board systems of the complex. Time has been also set aside for physical exercises and medical control.

On completion of the joint flight programme, the automatic transport Progress 32 was separated from the manned complex *Mir* at 22:25 Moscow time on November 17.

All operations scheduled for this period, consisting of unloading, refuelling the tanks of the base unit with fuel and oxidizer, and pumping drinking water, were carried out. With the help of the propulsion system of the cargo craft the trajectory of the flight of the complex was adjusted.

The undocking was monitored by specialists at the ground control centre and cosmonauts Romanenko and Aleksandrov.

According to telemetric data and reports from the orbit, the flight proceeds normally.

'Progress-32' Mission Terminated

LD190810 Moscow TASS in English 0803 GMT
19 Nov 87

[Text] November 19 TASS—The flight of the unmanned cargo spaceship Progress-32, placed in near-earth orbit on September 24 1987, has been terminated.

Today, on commands from mission control centre, the cargo ship was oriented in space and its propulsion unit was switched on at 3:10 a.m. Moscow time.

As a result of the deceleration, the Progress-32 changed to a descent trajectory, entered the thick layers of the atmosphere and ceased to exist.

The cosmonauts Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov are continuing work on board the research complex *Mir* (peace).

The flight programme allocates much time to astrophysical experiments with the use of equipment of the special modul *Kvant*. Over the past few days the cosmonauts used the ultraviolet telescope *Glazar* to study galaxies featuring active processes in their nuclei. Photography of individual sections of the Trianguli constellations and the Andromeda Nebula is planned for today.

Both cosmonauts are feeling fine.

The work in orbit is proceeding according to schedule.

'Mir' Cosmonauts in 'Good Health'

LD181034 Moscow TASS in English 0731 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—A Soviet scientist has said that reports coming in from the orbiting platform *Mir* concerning the health of cosmonauts Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov are of "considerable interest" to space medicine.

Professor Nurmukhamed Mukharlyamov, head of the Clinical Department of the National Cardiological Center who holds a doctorate in medicine, made the remark in a TASS interview.

Romanenko, holding a space endurance record, has been working aloft on his latest mission for 286 days and Flight Engineer Aleksandr Aleksandrov, who has replaced Aleksander Laveykin after the latter's cardiovascular system showed irregularities, has worked alongside with him for a little over four months now.

The latest detailed check on their cardiovascular systems both at rest and during work-outs on an exercise bicycle, Mukharlyamov said, "has shown that Romanenko and Aleksandrov are in good health". He added that "the psychological atmosphere aboard the station is good".

The scientist said that every crew demanded its own approach in terms of medical studies and that every new mission added to the body of knowledge accumulated by space medicine.

Asked about ways of countering the effects of zero gravity on cosmonauts, he said the principal ones were regular physical exercise in the "mini-stadium" set up in the space station, compliance with the suggested regimen, a reasonable combination of work and leisure, and a balanced diet helping the organism to keep such vital elements as potassium and calcium.

Preparations for a life in weightlessness, Mukharlyamov said, began during training on earth long before boostoff.

The scientist said Laveykin, who had worked with Romanenko aboard *Mir* for nearly six months, was "practically healthy".

"After he went through the traditional package of readaptation routines, a supplementary examination has detected nothing wrong with the cosmonaut's health. Laveykin is feeling fit for further space launches," Mukharlyamov said.

Military

Yazov Order Marks Rocket Forces, Artillery Day
PM181957 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
19 Nov 87 First Edition p 1

["Defense Minister Order of the Day No 321" issued in Moscow and dated 19 November 1987—boldface as published]

[Text] Comrade soldiers and sailors, sergeants and petty officers!

Comrade ensigns and warrant officers!

Comrade officers, generals, and admirals!

Comrade workers, technicians, engineers, and designers of the defense industry!

Comrade veterans of the Rocket Forces and Artillery!

Today our country and its Armed Forces are celebrating Rocket Forces and Artillery Day.

This year Soviet people and Soviet Armed Forces servicemen are celebrating this festival in an atmosphere of creative implementation of the revolutionary cause of restructuring, renewal of society's life, and strenuous work to fulfill the historic 27th CPSU Congress decisions. The nationwide struggle to worthily greet the glorious jubilee of the world's first socialist state—the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—has given a strong boost to the businesslike mood and to the new way of work.

The motherland of Great October sings the praises of the frontline soldiers' unfading exploits and military labor of the present generation of missilemen and artillerymen vigilantly standing guard over socialism's gains and marks the services of scientists, designers, engineers, technicians, and workers—creators of first-class weapons and formidable combat hardware.

The servicemen of the Rocket Forces and Artillery are persistently implementing CPSU Central Committee demands with regard to improving combat readiness and strengthening military discipline and organization. In the single combat formation of the Armed Forces, they are reliably guarding the peaceful creative labor of Soviet people and of the peoples of the socialist community countries.

Under conditions of a complex foreign policy situation and continuing threat of nuclear war, when reactionary imperialist circles, ignoring history's lessons, are striving for military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries, the servicemen of the Rocket Forces and Artillery are persistently mastering modern combat hardware and fulfilling with honor the tasks entrusted to them of defending socialism's great gains.

I greet and congratulate you on the festival: Rocket Forces and Artillery Day!

I wish the Rocket Forces and Artillery personnel further successes in improving their combat skill, mastering the complex combat hardware, strengthening military discipline, and enhancing vigilance and combat readiness.

I wish defense industry workers new achievements in developing and creating modern rocket and artillery equipment.

I wish Rocket Forces and Artillery veterans fruitful work in the military-patriotic education of Soviet people and the preparation of young people to defend Great October's gains.

To mark Rocket Forces and Artillery Day I order:

That a festive firework display be held today, 19 November 1987, at 2100 hours local time in the hero-city of Moscow, the capital of our motherland, in the capitals of the union republics, in the hero-cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, Murmansk, and in the hero-fortress of Brest.

Long live our great motherland—the USSR!

Long live the heroic Soviet Armed Forces and their valiant Rocket Forces and Artillery!

Long live the CPSU—The inspirer and organizer of all our victories!

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

Yazov Meets With Political Directorate Personnel
PM190957 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
14 Nov 87 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Meeting In the Main Political Directorate"]

[Text] Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, has met with Communists from the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. In his speech, he dwelt on the results of measures conducted in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and decisions of the party Central Committee October Plenum. The USSR defense minister set out the tasks arising for Army and Navy personnel from the report by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues" and from the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee October Plenum.

Lizichev Visits Baltic Military District
PM191009 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
18 Nov 87 First Edition p 1

[Lt Col M. Ziyeminsh report: "In a Thorough, Business-like Manner"]

[Text] You can see nearly 30 different newspaper titles published in the various languages of the USSR in the Lenin rooms of the subunits of the N tank training regiment which is a front-runner in the Baltic military district. Representatives of 33 nationalities serve in the regiment. At the decision of the party committee led by Captain A. Fast, the subunits' activists periodically deliver reviews of local newspaper publications on the republic days held in the units, at political classes, and in political education work periods. In individual educational work, the party committee members rely on their knowledge of the servicemen's national character traits and on traditions, customs, and achievements in the economy and culture of the union republics.

A frank and sharp conversation on ways to further improve work to unite multinational military collectives took place at an extended session of the party committee

in whose work Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, took part. Other questions of restructuring were thoroughly examined. Positive experience was analyzed. Conversations took place with the personnel of the excellent-rated company commanded by Major A. Voytsekhovich.

Vital questions of improving the quality of junior commanders' training and the inculcation in them of high moral and combat qualities were touched on in conversations with the officers. In this connection, Gen Lizichev drew attention to the experience of training junior commanders and specialists accumulated in the Lenin Komsomol Leningrad Guards Motorized Rifle Training Regiment (Leningrad Military District). Urgent questions of restructuring were examined at a conference with officers from the N formation's political department.

In the Moskovskiy Rayon Palace of Culture in the city of Riga a meeting took place between the voters and Gen Lizichev, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Leaders Sign Obituary of General Belikov

PM170901 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Pravda* in Russian on 15 November 1987 in its Second Edition carries on page 3 the obituary of Army General Valeriy Aleksandrovich Belikov, commander of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. The obituary is signed by the following:

"M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, A.A. Gromyko, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, P.N. Demichev, V.I. Dolgikh, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, A.P. Biryukova, A.F. Dobrynin, A.I. Lukyanov, V.A. Medvedev, G.P. Razumovskiy, I.V. Kapitonov, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, N.I. Savinkin, Yu.P. Maksimov, Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, S.K. Kurkotkin, V.M. Shabanov, N.F. Shestopalov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, A.I. Sorokin, V.S. Nechayev, D.A. Volkogonov, N.V. Ogarkov, A.S. Zheltov, B.P. Utkin, M.N. Tereshchenko, N.A. Moiseyev, I.V. Fuzhenko, A.K. Fedorov, V.V. Skokov, Ye.N. Makhov, L.S. Shustko, G.M. Donskoy."

This is a U.S. Government publication. Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government. Users of this publication may cite FBIS or JPRS provided they do so in a manner clearly identifying them as the secondary source.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) and Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) publications contain political, economic, military, and sociological news, commentary, and other information, as well as scientific and technical data and reports. All information has been obtained from foreign radio and television broadcasts, news agency transmissions, newspapers, books, and periodicals. Items generally are processed from the first or best available source; it should not be inferred that they have been disseminated only in the medium, in the language, or to the area indicated. Items from foreign language sources are translated. Those from English-language sources are transcribed, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by FBIS/JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpts] in the first line of each item indicate how the information was processed from the original. Unfamiliar names which are rendered phonetically or transliterated by FBIS/JPRS are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear from the original source but have been supplied as appropriate to the context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by the source.

SUBSCRIPTION/PROCUREMENT INFORMATION

The FBIS DAILY REPORT contains current news and information and is published Monday through Friday in 8 volumes: China, East Europe, Soviet Union, East Asia, Near East & South Asia, Africa (Sub-Sahara), Latin America, and West Europe. Supplements to the DAILY REPORTs may also be available periodically and will be distributed to regular DAILY REPORT subscribers. JPRS publications generally contain less time-sensitive information and are published periodically. Current JPRS publications are listed in *Government Reports Announcements* issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22161 and the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications* issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

U.S. Government offices may obtain subscriptions to the DAILY REPORTs or JPRS publications (hardcovers or microfiche) at no charge through their sponsoring organizations. DOD consumers are required to submit requests through appropriate

command validation channels to DIA, RTS-2C, Washington, D.C. 20301. (Telephone: (202) 373-3771, Autovon: 243-3771.) For additional information or assistance, call FBIS, (703) 527-2368, or write to P.O. Box 2604, Washington, D.C. 20013.

The public may subscribe to either hardcover or microfiche versions of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications through NTIS at the above address or by calling (703) 487-4630. Subscription rates will be provided by NTIS upon request. Subscriptions are available outside the United States from NTIS or appointed foreign dealers. Back issues or single copies of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are not available. New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.

Both the DAILY REPORTs and the JPRS publications are on file for public reference at the Library of Congress and at many Federal Depository Libraries. Reference copies may also be seen at many public and university libraries throughout the United States.